Kalidasa and Vikramaditya

—a historical and literary diversion to relieve the monotony of retirement,

by

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Dedication.

With the prayerful hope that the little Avanti-bhushan, if Providence allows him to grow up, may love his country and its ancient culture, this book is dedicated to him by his affectionate grandfather—

the Author.

List of Abbreviations.

Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam	A.S.
Kumāra-Sambhavam	K.S.
Mālavikāgnimitram	M.M.
Meghadutam	M.D.
Raghuvams'am	R.V.
Ritusamhāra	R.S.
Vikramorvas'i	V.V.
General Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India by Mr. S.N. Majumdar	A.G.I.
Mr. Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World	B.B.R.
Meghadutam translated by Mr. B. C. Mitra...	B.C.M.
Pandit V. Reu's Bhāratke Prāchina Rājavams'a	B.P.R.
Cambridge History of India (Vol. I) ...	C.H.I.
Mr. Fleet's Corpus Inscriptions in India (2nd Edition)	C.I.
Dr. R. C. Majumdar's Corporate Life in India (2nd Edition)	C.L.
Dr. Keith's Classical Sanskrit Literature ...	C.S.L.
Mr. Vincent Smith's Early History of India...	E.H.I.
Kumāra-Sambhavam translated by Mr. R. Griffith	G.
M. M. H. P. S'astri in the Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society ...	J. B. O. R. S.
Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam translated by Mr. J. N. Tagore	J.T.

Preface.

One fine morning while I went for a constitutional to a Park of a well-known city, beautiful as the Garden of Eden, I tried to find out a secluded arbour where to rest awhile. I selected one and was about to enter it, when I found a gentleman of a poetic mien seated on a bench within it, and reading aloud in a musical voice Sanskrit passages from one of the three books he had with him.

Just then a gentleman of a judicial demeanour came in and sat beside the first. From their conversation it appeared that they professed the same profound subject at the Academy, and that both were poor—not poor in spirit, but poor in worldly belongings—the first had invested most of his all in a mansion in the country of the aborigines, and the second in substantial securities and in a skyscraper—and that both were at a loss to find funds for a second edifice within the precincts of the palatial city. As they addressed each other by their sweet and honorific surnames, they seemed to be men of high distinction.

On being asked about the book he had been reading the first gentleman, without mentioning its name, read out the following passage from it and also its English and Bengali renderings from the two other books—

अग्रे यान्ति रथस्य रेणुपदवीं चूर्णीभवन्तो घना—
श्चक्रभ्रान्तिररान्तरेषु वितनोत्यन्यामिवारावलीम् ।

चित्रन्यस्तमिवाचलं हयशिरस्यायामवच्चामरं,
यष्ट्यग्रे समं स्थितो ध्वजपटः प्रान्ते च वेगानिलात् —

(V.V.—I—21).

(Before the car
Like volley'd dust the scattering clouds divide;
The whirling wheel deceives the dazzled eye;
And double round the axle seems to circle ;
The waving chowrie on the steed's broad brow
Points backward, motionless as in a picture;
And backward streams the banner from the breeze
We meet—immovable.)—W.

(রথ-অগ্রে মেঘ-রাশি, চূর্ণ হয়ে ধূলি-জালে, হয় পরিণত ;
চক্র-অর-গুলি-মাঝে, ভ্রম হয় আরো যেন, আছে আর কত।
দ্রুত-গতি অশ্ব-শিরে, চিত্র-স্থির, চামরটি, দীর্ঘ-প্রসারিত, ;
বায়ু-বেগে ধ্বজ-পট, ধ্বজযষ্টি-প্রান্ত-মধ্যে, সম-অবস্থিত ॥)—J.T.

The first gentleman then added, "See how the progress of the aerial chariot of Pururavas is vividly depicted. In the first place the rapid movement of the chariot-wheels reduces clouds to dust; secondly the quick revolution of the wheels seems to produce another series of spokes in the intervals of the real ones; thirdly the chāmaras which are tied on the heads of horses as ornaments appear to be motionless, as if they were painted on the heads of the figures of horses; and lastly the banner-cloth spreads out in a horizontal line between the tip of its staff and its own end (which when at rest would otherwise dangle at the foot of the staff). Can any description be more natural and graphic than this?" The second nodded his assent.

The first then added, "Here is another passage to match what I have read out"—

ग्रीवाभङ्गाभिरामं मुहुरनुपतति स्यन्दने बद्धदृष्टिः,
पश्चार्द्धेन प्रविष्टः शरपतनभयाद्भूयसा पूर्व्वकायम् ।
दर्भैरर्द्धावलीढैः श्रमविवृतमुखभ्रंशिभिः कीर्णवर्त्मा
पश्योदग्रप्लुतत्वाद्वियति बहुतरं स्तोकमुर्व्व्यां प्रयाति ॥
(A.S.—I—2.)

(......................................See, there he runs;
Aye and anon his graceful neck he bends
To cast a glance at the pursuing car,
And dreading now the swift-descending shaft,
Contracts into itself his slender frame;
About his path, in scattered fragments strewn,
The half-chewed grass falls from his panting mouth;
See, in his airy bounds he seems to fly,
And leaves no trace upon th' elastic turf).

—M.W. .

(কিবা চারু গ্রীবাভঙ্গে ফিরে ফিরে চায়
এক দৃষ্টে মুহুর্মুহু রথটীর বাগে ;
শরপাত-ভয়ে মৃগ আকুঞ্চিত কায়,
পশ্চাতের দেহ যেন পশে পূর্ব্বভাগে ;
শ্রমে আধো-খোলা মুখ, ঝরি তাহা হতে
অর্দ্ধেক-চর্ব্বিত তৃণ পড়ে পথে পথে ;
কি দীর্ঘ দিতেছে লম্ফ, মনে হয় তায়,
ব্যোম-মার্গে গতি তার অল্পই ধরায় ॥—J·T.)

The first gentleman then said, "There are numerous graphic descriptions of this sort in a single play of the Great Poet. It is very difficult to choose some

and leave out the others. In the passage just now cited, we are face to face with king Dushmanta who is pursuing an antelope in his chariot and describing the fleeing deer with such accurate details as can be expected only from a veteran huntsman. The remarks of the charioteer (मुक्तेषु .....रथगाः—A.S.—1—6) on the appearances of the four flying steeds drawing the chariot and those of the king in reply (यदालोके...... रथजवात्—A.S.—I—7) on the aspects of things, when the chariot is tearing its way through the forest, are equally vivid and show the Poet's accurate observation of and deep insight into the things around him. The second gentleman expressed his appreciation of the extract. The first then continued, 'Let me read out another passage of unsurpassed beauty. It is unequalled in the delineation of tender emotion and in the description of the exaltation of love. Love has taken possession of the whole being of the Lover, who sees his Beloved in all objects animate and inanimate'. He then read out the following with his usual musical modulation—

तरङ्गभ्रूभङ्गाक्षुभितविहगश्रेणिरशना,
विकर्षन्ती फेनं वसनमिव संरम्भशिथिलम् ।
यथा जिह्मं याति स्खलितमभिसन्धाय बहुशो,
नदीभावेनेयं ध्रुवमसहमाना परिणता ॥ —V.V.—IV-73.

(The rippling wave is like her arching brow;
The fluttering line of storks, her timid tongue;[1]
The foamy spray, her white loose-floating vest;
And this meandering course the current tracks,

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1. Should be 'her loin-band'.

Her undulating gait; all these recall
My soon-offended love—I must appease her.)—W.

(তরঙ্গ ভ্রূ-ভঙ্গ যেন, ক্ষুভিত বিহঙ্গ-রাজি
—রশনা উহার।
সম্ভ্রম[1] শিথিল বাস, ফেনরাশি-রূপে যেন
করিছে বিস্তার।
চলিছে স্খলিত-গতি, চিন্তি অপরাধ মম
মনে অবিরত,
না পারি সহিতে আর—নিশ্চয় সে হইয়াছে
নদী-পরিণত ॥)—J.T.

When the first gentleman had reached the third line of the English translation, the second became restless; but when the second line of the Bengali rendering was being read out, the second stood up and left the place abruptly saying, "Such a passage—nay such a book in which such a passage occurs—should be let severely alone. Moreover is not the heroine a hetaera though of heaven?" Then the gentleman of a poetic mien also rose, and followed the gentleman of a judicial demeanour, saying—

अरसिकेषु रसस्य निवेदनम् ।
शिरसि मा लिख, मा लिख, मा लिख ॥

(May God, the Author of Man's Destiny,
Not ever to me such a fate decree,
As to be made fine sentiments to teach
To those who off and on dry sermons preach.)

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1. संरम्भ means (1) anger in the case of Urvasi and (2) force in that of the river-current. সম্ভ্রম means 'intense emotion'.

I was very curious to know the names of the books from which the passages were extracted; but since the gentlemen were strangers and men of eminence, as appeared from their honourable surnames, I did not venture to approach them.

On my way home I fortunately met a friend of mine, a Sanskritist and an author of international fame coming with others of a priestly deportment out of a deceased rich man's house with costly presents as ponderous as his alliterative surname. When I narrated to him my morning adventure, and showed to him the passages I had jotted down on a piece of paper with a pencil, he smiled *significantly* and remarked that one might utilise one's leisure in popularising the Classics by means of their vernacular and English renderings, and added that the Author of the extracts was none other than Kālidāsa, the finest of the gems, that enhanced the beauty and glory of the court of the Great Vikramāditya, with some particulars concerning both of whom I shall try to acquaint the reader in the following pages—

the Author.

INTRODUCTION.

Ye whose hearts are beating high
With the pulse of Poesy,
Heirs of more than mortal race,
Framed by Heaven's peculiar grace,
God's own work to do on earth.

Keble.

"Poetry", as Shelley says, "is the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds". Wordsworth echoes this sentiment in other words—"Poetry is the first and last of all knowledge—it is as immortal as the heart of man". These are not mere idle words—they are the words of those who themselves are—

The Poets, who on earth have made us heirs
Of truth and pure delight, by heavenly lays.

Such are also the utterances of Kālidāsa, the most famous lyrical, epic and dramatic Poet of India, who has been styled the Indian Shakespeare by Sir William Jones, and whose S'akuntalā and Meghaduta have drawn unstinted admiration from Goethe, the greatest German Poet, and have led him to model the prologue of his masterpiece, Faust, after the prelude of the former.

Though this 'dear son of Memory' and 'great heir of Fame' does not need such weak efforts as ours to

locate him in time and space, yet we, who cannot aspire to build for ourselves a "live-long monument" in the wonder and astonishment of our fellow-beings, attach much importance to the date and place of birth of this World-Poet—this finest 'flower of Brāhmanical culture' as Dr. Keith styles him.

A poet of inferior merit would have resorted to various mean devices to perpetuate himself in his works ; but Kālidāsa, who knew that his verse would be his enduring monument,

"Not marble nor the gilded monuments
Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme,"

left to the ingenuity of the posterity all the guesswork regarding the place and date of his birth, and also regarding the spuriousness or genuineness of certain works, which have been fathered upon him.

Scholars and antiquarians are still divided as to the date of Kālidāsa. They have proposed three approximate dates in connexion with the time when he flourished. First 58 B. C., when the era of the legendary king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, the enemy of the S'ākas or Scythians, began. Secondly, 410 A.D., when Chandragupta II of the Gupta Dynasty, who was styled Vikramāditya, reigned. Thirdly, 525 A. D. when Yas'odharman, the king of Central India defeated Mihiragula, the king of the White Huns.

Chapter I

Kalidasa and Vikramaditya of 58 B. C.

'*Fable is the elder sister of History*'—*Voltaire.*

In Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam, Kālidāsa's famous drama, the Sutradhāra or stage-manager says to his wife, the actress—

"आर्य्ये ! रसभावविशेषदीक्षागुरोर्विक्रमादित्यस्य नरपतेरभिरूप-भूयिष्ठा परिषदियम्। अद्य खलु कालिदासग्रथितवस्तुना अभिज्ञान-शकुन्तलनामधेयेन नवेन नाटकेनोपस्थातव्यमस्माभिः।"

(Respected Lady, this is the learned assembly of king Vikramāditya, who is himself an eminent dramatic critic. We are to represent today Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam, the new historical play of Kālidāsa).

From the above we find that Kālidāsa, the dramatist, flourished in the reign of Vikramāditya. We do not know anything definitely about the first king, who assumed the title of Vikramāditya, except the tradition that his capital was at Ujjayini in Central India, that he initiated the Vikrama Samvat or Era which began in 58 B.C., that he was the enemy of the S'akas or Scythians, and that he was a patron of learned men.

It will be wrong to assert that the first Vikramāditya was a merely imaginary king, simply because no inscriptions or coins have as yet been found in

connexion with his reign. What Mr. Vincent Smith says regarding Samudragupta (330-380 A. D.), of the Gupta Dynasty, 'the Napoleon of India' as he calls him, ought to warn us against such an assumption—"By a strange irony of fate this great king—warrior, poet and musician—who conquered nearly all India, and whose alliances extended from the Oxus to Ceylon, was unknown even by name to the historians of India until the publication of this work. His lost fame has been slowly recovered by minute and laborious study of inscriptions and coins during the last eighty years." [1]

In the Calcutta Englishman of the 7th February, 1927, Mr. Michael Temple says in connexion with the legend of the lost continent of Atlantis, "But we are getting to understand now, that whenever we have an ancient legend, there is always some sort of truth behind it. Legends do not grow from nothing any more than anything else; there must be a seed, though the plant, which has sprung from it, may have taken a strange and almost unrecognisable form."

In Gāthāsaptas'ati or Saptas'ataka (seven centuries), an "anthology of erotic verses written in the ancient dialect of Mahārāshtra" [2] the following couplet occurs—

संवाहणसुहरसतोसिएण देन्तेण तुहकरे लक्खं ।
चलणेण विक्कमाइच्च चरिअमणुसिक्खिअं तिस्सा ॥

1. E. H. I.-p. 306.
2. Ibid-p. 220.

which may be translated into Sanskrit thus—

संवाहन-सुखरसतोषितेन ददता तवकरे लक्षम् ।
चरणेन विक्रमादित्य-चरितमनुशिक्षितं तस्याः ॥[1]

(She by giving you a lac for your pleasant rubbing of her foot has imitated the liberality of Vikramāditya). So Manoratha is also mentioned by the Chinese traveller as having paid a lac of gold to his barber for shaving his head (see Chap. III).

"Prof. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar has suggested that probably either King Hāla, the seventeenth king of the Andhra Dynasty, may have been the author of the Gāthā or it may have been dedicated to him. M. M. H. P. S'āstri notes that Hāla cannot be placed later than the first century A. D. and that the Saptās'ati mentions a King, named Vikramāditya, who may be the founder of the era." [2]

According to Herodotus, the Greek Historian, the Persians denoted all Scythian nomads by the term Sakai. About 165 B. C. a horde of nomads, named the Yuechi, probably an Iranian tribe, being defeated by a tribe of Turki nomads, were compelled to quit Northwestern China, and to migrate westwards for fresh pasture-grounds. In the course of their migration, they encountered and defeated the S'akas, who inhabited the country west of the Wusun and north of the Jaxartes. Being thus driven away, one branch of the S'akas settled in Sakastene, the

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1. Quoted in B. P. R. Vol II pp. 389-390.
2. E. H. I.-p. 220.

modern Sistan or the S'aka Country, formerly Drangiana, and another branch attacked the kingdoms of Parthia and Graeco-Bactria between 140 and 120 B. C. . The latter was destroyed, and the former weakened. Then the two branches of the S'akas being united, made their way into India through the northern passes. Some of them settled at Taxila in the Punjab and at Mathurā on the Yamunā, where their kings assumed the title of सत्रप or Satrapas and ruled for more than a century seemingly in subordination to Parthian kings. Another section of the horde about the middle of the first century A. D. occupied Surāshtra or Kathiawar, and ruled under the designation of Kshatrapas till about 390 A. D., when their kingdom was destroyed by Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty[1].

It is just possible that the S'akas, who had settled at Mathurā about the first century B. C., moved further south, and in 58 B. C. encountered Vikramāditya, the king and commander-in-chief of the warrior-clan of the Mālavas, or the Suzerain of the Mālava Princes, who inflicted on them a crushing defeat, which rendered the further southward advance of the Barbarians at least for some time impossible. This glorious victory of the chief of Ujjayini over the S'aka horde can be fitly compared with that won much later on the great battle-field of Chalons in 451 A. D. by the allied Latin and Teutonic troops over Attila, 'the Scourge of gods', and his Huns, or with

1. E H. I. and B. P. R.

that won in 732 A. D. by Charles Martel on the critical battle-field of Tours over the Arab host, which had invaded Gaul, both of which saved Western Europe from imminent peril. Such a victory could naturally capture the imagination of the Mālavas, who conferred on their king the title of Vikramāditya or the "Sun of Prowess", and associated an era with the first year of his rule or with the decisive and cardinal victory achieved by his skill and valour. Well might the Mālavas apply to their general the lines used by Wordsworth in a different context—

(Yet) "Shall thy name, conspicuous and sublime,
Stand in the spacious firmanent of time,
Fixed as a star: such glory is thy right".

The continuance of his era for more than two thousand years would naturally be a strong proof of his real existence as a powerful king of Central India. But inscriptions discovered up to the present time have established the fact that the name of Vikrama occurs first in connexion with the era, which began in 58-57 B. C. in an inscription of Chāhamān Chanda Mahāsena at Dhaulpur—"वसुनव-अष्टौवर्षा-गतस्य कालस्य विक्रमाख्यस्य" or engraved in 898 Vikrama era, corresponding to 841 A. D. In earlier inscriptions and copper-plates the name Mālava occurs—

(a) श्रीर्म्मालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्तकृतसंज्ञिते—
एकषष्ठ्यधिके प्राप्ते समाशतचतुष्टये ।

[In the year 461 of the era described, highly praised, and named Krita or (the beginning of) Satya yuga by the Mālavagana],

(b) कृतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षशतेष्वेकाशीतुत्तरेष्वस्यां मालव-पूर्वायां

(Done in the year 481 of the era having the term Mālava before it).

(c) पञ्चसु शतेषु शरदां, यातेष्वेकोननवतिसहितेषु,

मालवगणस्थितिवशात्कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु ।

(Written for giving information regarding time in the year 589 of the era connected with the Settlement of the Mālavas).

(d) संवत्सरशतैर्यातैः सपंचनवत्यर्गलैः सप्तभिर्मालवेशानां ।

(In the year 795 of the era of Mālava chiefs or kings).[1]

Now who were the Mālavas? What was the nature of their Constitution? If it was a republican one—we use the term 'republic' in its modern sense—then King Vikramāditya must be merely legendary, and had no real existence.

In the third Chapter of the second part of the Vishnupurāna, the Mālavas are described as मालवाः (Malavah). Similarly it mentions Pundrah, Kalingāh, Magadhāh, and others. These plural designations as in शाकलवासिनः, inhabitants of the district of S'ākala or Sialkot, signify the inhabitants of particular districts or divisions.

In Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar-inscription,[2] the name "Mālava" occurs—

'समतट—दवाक—कामरूप—नेपाल—कर्तृपुरादिप्रत्यन्तनृपतिभिर्मालवार्जुनायनयौधेयमद्रकाभीरप्रार्जुनसनकानीककाकखरपरिकादिभिश्च'

1. a-d—quoted in E. P. R.

2. C. I.—1.

or "(obeyed) by the frontier kings (प्रत्यन्तनृपतिभि:) of Samatata, Davāka, Kāmarupa, Nepāla, Kartripura and other countries, and by the Mālavas, A'rju-nāyanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, A'bhiras, Prārjunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas, Kharaparikas and others."

From the above some scholars'[1] have drawn the conclusion that the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, &c were not ruled by kings. This conclusion from the omission of the name of King is not, however, warranted in our opinion by the fact that in the next sentence occurs—

"दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि शकमुरुण्डैः सैंहलकादिभिश्च"

or by the "Daivaputras, Shāhis, Shāhānushāhis, S'akas and Murundas and the people of Simhala and others." We know that at least Simhala or Ceylon was ruled during the time of Samudragupta by a Buddhist king of the name of Meghavarna (352-379 A. D.), who "despatched a mission to Samudragupta laden with the gems for which Ceylon has always been renowned, besides other valuable gifts, and requested permission to found a monastery on Indian soil."[2]

We have seen, however, that in some inscriptions the Mālavas are referred to as a gana (गण) It is difficult to determine definitely the meanings of the terms Gana, S'reni, Puga, Samgha, Brāta,[3] and Kula

1. C. L. p. 230.

2. E. H, I. p. p. 303 and 304.

3. "नाना जातीया अनियतवृत्तय उत्सेधजीविनः संघा व्राताः

or a Bráta is a union of men belonging to different castes and

which were used in ancient India to denote classes. We are sometimes misled by the terms guild, corporation, democracy &c., which we use as their equivalents, and which denote the industrial and political units of Europe nurtured in an environment sometimes very dissimilar to that of ancient India.

In Viramitrodaya [1] Puga is explained thus –

'पुगः समूह ; भिन्नजातीनाम् भिन्नवृत्तीनाम् एकस्थानवासिनाम् ग्रामनगरादिस्थानाम्'

or a village or a town union consisting of different castes and different occupations. There also occurs गणशब्दः पूगपर्य्यायः or gana and puga are synonyms.

The word 'gana' was used also in another sense—

"कुलानांहि समूहस्तुगणः सम्परिकीर्त्तितः"

or a gana or clan is a collection of kulas or families. In the S'āntiparva of the Mahābhārata Bhishma being asked by Yudhisthira about the conduct (वृत्ति) of ganas says—

गणानाञ्च कुलानाञ्च राज्ञां भरतसत्तम।
वैरसन्दीपनावेतौ लोभामर्षौ नराधिप॥

... ...

अर्थाश्चैवाधिगम्यन्ते संघात-वल-पौरुषैः।
वाह्याश्च मैत्रीं कुर्व्वन्ति तेषु संघातवृत्तिषु॥

... ...

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having no regular means of livelihood, but generally living by means of slaughter (see C. L. page 222)."

1.C. L. page 138.

प्राज्ञान् शूरान्महोत्साहान् कर्मसु स्थिरपौरुषान् ।
मानयन्तः सदा युक्ता विवर्द्धन्ते गणा नृप ॥
द्रव्यवन्तश्च शूराश्च शस्त्रज्ञा शास्त्रपारगाः ।
कृच्छ्रास्वापत्सु संमूढान् गणान् सन्तारयन्ति ते ॥
क्रोधो भेदो भयं दण्डः कर्षणं निग्रहो वध ।
नयत्यरिवशं सद्यो गणान् भरतसत्तम ॥

तस्मान्मानयितव्यास्ते गणमुख्याः प्रधानतः ।
लोकयात्रा समायत्ता भूयसी तेषु पार्थिव ॥
मन्त्रगुप्तिः प्रधानेषु चारश्चामित्रकर्षण ।

न गणाः कृत्स्नशो मन्त्रं श्रोतुमर्हन्ति भारत ॥
गणमुख्यैस्तु सम्भूय कार्य्यं गणहितं मिथः ॥
पृथग्गणस्य भिन्नस्य विततस्य ततोन्यथा ।
अर्थाः प्रत्यवसीदन्ति तथानर्था भवन्ति च ॥
तेषामन्योन्यभिन्नानां स्वशक्तिमनुतिष्ठताम ।
निग्रहः पण्डितैः कार्य्यः क्षिप्रमेव प्रधानतः ॥
कुलेषु कलहा जाता कुलवृद्धैरुपेक्षिताः ।
गोत्रस्य नाशं कुर्व्वन्ति गणभेदस्य कारकम ॥
आभ्यन्तरभयं रक्ष्यमसारं बाह्यतोभयम् ।

... ...

जात्या च सदृशाः सर्व्वे कुलेन सदृशास्तथा ॥

... ...

भेदाच्चैव प्रदानाच्च भिन्दन्ते रिपुभिर्गणाः ।
तस्मात् सङ्घातमेवाहुर्गणानां शरणं महत् ॥

(O king, the best of Bharatas, the two exciting causes of enmity among the kings of ganas and kulas are avarice and want of toleration.

... ...

When a gana is united, its prowess and efforts enable it to acquire wealth ; and foreign powers conclude alliances with a gana which is united and not torn asunder by dissension. ... ...

... ...

O king, when ganas always pay due respect to (their) wise, valiant, enthusiastic, and resolute (members or officers), they prosper.

Rich, heroic, warlike and learned (members or officers) save ganas overwhelmed with miseries and dangers.

O the noblest of the Bharatas, anger, dissension, fear, punishment, extortion, oppression, and murder always drive ganas into the clutches of the the enemy. Therefore the elders of a gana through their President (that is, the elders who are heroic learned, etc. presided over by one who is the fittest, among them) are to be respected, because, O king, they are very well versed in worldly affairs.

O enemy-oppressor, O king, secret counsel and spies (are to be at the absolute disposal) of the President. The whole assembly of a gana are not fit to hear (or to deal with) those secret matters. The elders of a gana assembling together should transact secretly businesses, which are conducive to the well-being of the whole community. Otherwise a gana is separated, dis-

united and torn asunder, and wealth decreases and calamities ensue.

When the members of a gana are disunited, and act each on his own account, this should at once be checked by the learned (elders) through their President. When there is a quarrel in kulas or big families (of which a gana is a collection), and when it is disregarded by the elders of these kulas, it leads to the disunion and final destruction of the gana, gotra, or clan. Internal dissension is to be more feared and guarded against than fear (or aggression) from without. All the members of a kula are to be regarded as equals by birth ; and all the kulas and families constituting a gana are to be regarded as equal to one another. The enemy tear asunder or destroy a gana by sowing dissension among and bribing its members. Therefore unity has been said to be the best refuge of a gana.)

From the above we may deduce the following :—

(a) In the epic age there were republican institutions called ganas.

(b) Each gana was composed of kulas or big families.

(c) Each kula had a Rājā or Ruler or President, and every gana had at its head a Rāja or President.

(d) Every gana and most probably every kula had its own assembly consisting of the most experienced and competent members of the community. The gana assembly most probably consisted of the Presidents of kula assemblies.

(e) The spy and secret counsel department was at the sole disposal of the President of a gana.

(f) All the members of a kula or family and all kulas had equal political privileges.

In Kautilya's Arthas'āstra, whieh according to Mr. V. Smith describes the state of things, as existed immediately before the establishment of the Mauryya Empire by Chandragupta in 322 B.C. occurs—

कुलस्य वा भवेद्राज्यं कुलसङ्घोहि दुर्जयः ।
अराजव्यसनाबाधः शश्वदावसति क्षितिम् ॥

"Sovereignty may (sometimes) be the property of a clan ; for the corporation of clans is invincible in its nature, and being free from the calamities of anarchy can have a permanent existence on earth[1]."

Though Gana is not mentioned, it was nothing but a Kulasamgha or a union of kulas or big families which ruled territories. Freedom from the calamities of anarchy evidently implies that when a King or President died, or was killed in war, or was found unfit, the fittest member of the community succeeded him, and thus obviated anarchy or political disorder.

The word श्रेणी or class like the word गण had two special meanings. It was applied to a union or guild of manufacturers or traders. In Vatsabhatti's Mandasor stone-inscription engraved in 473 A.D. during the reign of Kumāragupta II in commemoration of the erection and repair of a pillar constructed in honour of the Sun-god, the word "S'reni" is applied

1. T. K. A., Book I, Chap XVII.

to the union or guild of silk-weavers. It was also used to signify a political group In Kautilya's Artha-s'āstra under the heading सङ्घवृत्तम्, or the conduct of Samghas (unions, groups, communities, or corporations) occurs the following couplet—

काम्भोज सुराष्ट्र क्षत्रिय श्रेण्यादयो वार्त्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः ।
लिच्छिविक—वृजिक—मल्लक—मद्रक—कुकुर—कुरुपाञ्चालादयो
राजशब्दोपजीविनः ॥

This is translated by Dr. Shāma S'āstry thus—"The corporations of warriors (Kshatriyas'reni) of Kāmbhoja and Surāshtra and other countries live by agriculture, trade and wielding weapons. The corporations of Lichchhivika, Vrijika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, Kuru, Panchala and others live by the title of a Rājā"[1]

'Samghabrittam' appears to be taken by Dr. S'āstry as meaning "सङ्घानां वृत्तम्" or 'conduct of corporations.' It should rather be translated into 'संघेषु राज्ञः वृत्तम् (आचरणम्)' or 'the dealings of a king (who wants to be powerful) with industrial and political groups.'

Kshatriyas'reni may not necessarily mean 'a corporation of warriors' and the word Kshatriya may refer to the Kshatriya caste. That this is so is evident from the fact that some of these Kshatriyas lived by means of वार्त्ता, i. e, trade and agriculture. It is difficult to determine whether the Lichchhivikas, Vrijikas &c. belonged to the

1. T. K. A. p. 437.

Kshatriya caste or not. So far as the Lichchhivikas are concerned, there are good grounds for supposing that they were Kshatriyas by caste. In the Vāyu-purāna (ch. 99) occurs the following :—

महानन्दिसुतश्चापि शूद्रायां कालसंवृतः ।
उत्पत्स्यते महापद्मः सर्व्वक्षत्रान्तरे नृपः ॥

(At the end of all Kshatriya Kings, Mahāpadma nanda, the son of the King Mahānandi by a S'udra woman will reign.) This proves that the S'is'unāga dynasty to which Mahānandi belonged was Kshatriya by caste. The Vishnupurāna also corroborates the statement—

"महानन्दिसुत; शूद्रागर्भोद्भवोऽतिलुब्धो महापद्मनन्द परशुराम इवा परोऽखिल क्षत्रान्तकारी भविता" ।

(the avaricious King Mahāpadmananda, who will be the son of Mahānandi by a S'udra woman, will destroy the Kshatriyas like Paras'urāma. From that time S'udras will become Kings).

Ajātas'atru sent a message to the Mallas—'The Lord (Buddha) is a Kshatriya and so am I. Therefore I deserve a share of the relics.'[1] We know that the mother of Ajātas'atru of the S'is'unāga dynasty was a Lichchhavi, and also that Samudra-gupta always prided himself on his being the son of a daughter of the Lichchhavis. Gupta was generally the surname of the Vais'yas. The Brāhmans were

1. Quoted by mr. B. C. Law from Mahânibbân Suttánta translated by Mr. R. Davids/in his 'Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India.'

styled S'armā, the Kshatriyas Varmā, the Vais'yas Gupta, and the S'udras Dāsa. So it is just possible that Samudragupta felt himself honoured by his mother being the daughter of the celebrated Kshatriya clan of the Lichchhavis. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta occurs the following—"The Lichchhavis of Vesāli sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying 'The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One."[1]

From the above, it will appear that the Lichchhavis, Vrijis &c., were probably Kshatriyas by caste. Therefore the meaning of Kautilya's couplet (quoted on p. 15) may be—"Of the Kshatriya groups, the Kāmbhojas, the Surāshtras and others live by trade, agriculture or war, and the Lichchhavikas &c live by the title of Rājā or King (i. e., designate their chiefs as Rājās or Kings). Mr. B. C. Law's explanation—'This apparently means that among these peoples—Lichchhavis, Mallas &c.—each citizen had the right to call himself a rājā, i. e., dignitary who did not owe allegiance or pay revenue to any one else'[2] seems to be inconsistent with what he says later on [3] after quoting Professor Bhāndārkar, that every Lichchhavi Rājā had an uparāja or viceroy, a senāpati or general

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1. Quoted by Mr. B. C. Law from Mr. R. Davids' translation in his 'Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India', p 8.

2. Ibid p. 85.

3. Ibid p. 94.

and a Bhāndāgārika or treasurer. One could not call oneself a rājā, nor would one appoint a viceroy, a general and a treasurer, unless one had subjects. From this it will be evident that the word S'reni in the couplet refers to (a) the union or guild of agriculturists, traders and manufacturers with the President or सङ्घमुख्य at its head, (b) the union or corporation of warriors under its chief or, सङ्घमुख्य and (c) the political group (also called गण gana) like the Lichchhavikas with the title of Rājā or King.

In the same chapter of the Arthas'āstra occur not only सङ्घमुख्याः or Heads of Unions, but also कुमारकाः or Princes (sons of Kings) as Dr. S'āstry translates it.

We have seen that in Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar-inscription occur the names of— Mālavas, A'rjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, &c. The Mālavas were also designated as Mālavagana, as in Vatsabhatti's Mandasor stone-inscription—मालवानां गणस्थित्या or "reckoning from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas"[1]. In Samudragupta's inscription the juxtaposition of the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, &c establishes the fact that the constitutions of these tribes were similar. In Kautilya's Arthas'āstra (Ch. XI) though the Mālavas (unless they are the same as the Mallakas) and the Yaudheyas are omitted, yet the Madrakas and the Lichchhavikas are placed in the same category. Therefore there is reason to believe in the similarity of the constitu-

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C. I.—1.

tions of the four tribes, Lichchhavikas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas and Mālavas.

So far as the Lichchhavikas or the Lichchhavika clan are concerned, the Arthas'āstra says that they lived by the title of Rājā. This means that their chiefs were called Rājās or Kings. Dr. Majumder refers to Ekapanna Jātaka[1] and says that the Lichchhavikas of Vaisāli (Basār in Mozufferpore), had seven thousand, seven hundred and seven Kings and an equal number of Viceroys, Generals and Treasurers. He also refers to Bhadda Sāla Jātaka, and says that the commander-in-chief of Kos'alā violated a sacred tank of the Lichchhavis by making his wife bathe in it, and was pursued by five hundred Lichchhavi Kings.[2] Buddha refers to a *parisam* or general assembly of this Community[3]

In the Bijaygadh Stone inscription of the Yaudheyas[4] occurs "यौधेयगणपुरस्कृतस्य महाराजमहासेनापते." or 'of the mahārāja and mahāsenāpati who has been placed in the front by the Yaudheyagana.'

That some of these tribal republics of the days of the Mahābhārata may have degenerated into oligarchies in the time of the Arthas'āstra and in the age of the inscriptions, is indicated by the use

1. C. L. P. 229. The number 7707 is used for the sake of symmetry.

2. Ibid P. 227.

3. Ibid p. 226

4. C. I.—No. 58.

of not only the title Rajā, which occurs also in the Mahābhārata in connexion with the head of the family or of the Gana, but also of the title Kumāraka (Prince as translated by Dr, Shāma S'āstry) in connexion with the names of the sons of these Rājās or chiefs. The Bauddha Jātaka mentioned above also refers to the Viceroys, Generals and Treasurers of the Rājās or Kings of the Lichchhavi clan. It appears that in course of time the headships of kulas or big familes became hereditary, that is, the eldest son succeeded his father as in monarchies properly so-called. But the Cabinet of Princes continued, and either temporarily in times of emergency or permanently the President or Mahārājā and Mahāsenāpati—the great king and commander-in-chief—was elected as in the inscription 'Yaudheyagana &c' (see p. 19). Now King Vikramādityā of Ujjayini might have been such a Mahārājā and Mahāsenāpati, who was elected permanently by the Mālavas both on account of his being a great adminisstrator and also on account of his prowess and military skill evinced in his defeat of the S'aka horde.

In the Cambridge History of India Vol, I, the Vikrama Era is identified with the era of Azes I of the Scythio-Parthian or Indo-Parthian dynasty, which ruled the western Punjab or the Kingdom of Taxila. Sir John Marshall has discovered a Kharoshthi inscription in the Chir Tope at Taxila, which is dated the fifth of the month of Āshādh in

the year 136 of Azes (Ayasa = of Azes). The monarch then ruling at Taxila, is described as 'Great King, Supreme King of kings, Son of gods, Khushāna.' From this Sir John Marshall and Professor Rapson have concluded that it is the inscription of Kadphises, the Kushan King, and that the Vikrama era was really inaugurated by Azes I. Sir John Marshall identifies this Kadphises with Kujula Kādphises, the predecessor of Vima Kadphises (who was succeeded by the famous Kushān King Kanishka), while Professor Rapson identifies him with Vima. He adds that the Mālavas were the tributaries of the suzerain Azes I and borrowed the era from him. He says, "The use of an era can be shewn in well-ascertained cases to have spread from the suzerain to the feudatories. Is there any reason to suppose that extension in the contrary direction--from feudatory to suzerain—has ever taken place or could possibly take place ?" [1]

The conclusion of Professor Rapson, though very ingenious, is liable to the following objections—

(1) No name is given in the inscription.

(2) Vima Kadphises is given in his coins the epithet "the Kushan chief" and not "Son of the gods."

(3) If it belonged to the Kushan King Vima Kadphises, who had become powerful enough to style himself as a great king, the supreme king

1. C. H. I. (Introduction).

of kings and the son of the gods, could he instead of inaugurating a new era adopt that of a king of a Scythian dynasty, which his predecessor Kujula Kadphises of the Yuechi nation had overthrown? That the Kushan dynasty was capable of founding a new era cannot be doubted, for in the very year 136 of the so-called era of Azes, that is, 78 A. D., Kanishka—Mr. Vincent Smith says, Vima Kadphises—founded the S'aka era.

(4) This hypothesis ignores the persistent tradition that the era was inaugurated by Vikramāditya, the King of the Mālavas to commemorate his decisive defeat of the S'akas.

(5) It is inconsistent with the story of the Jaina Teacher Kālaka, which "tells us about some events which are supposed to have taken place in Ujjaini and other parts of western India during the first part of the first Century B. C. or immediately before the foundation of the Vikrama era in 58 B. C."[1] Kālaka, a Jaina saint, having been insulted by king Gardhabhilla of Ujjaini, father of Vikramāditya, invoked the aid of the King of the S'akas, who was styled King of kings (a title borne by the S'aka Kings of the Punjab—Maues and his successors including Azes I), to overthrow the Gardhabhilla dynasty, but Vikramāditya inflicted on him a crushing defeat. This is supported by the following quotation from the same history[2]—"The historical

1. C H. I. pp. 167-68.

2. Ibid, pp. 532—33.

setting (of this story) is not inconsistent with what we know of the political circumstances of Ujjayini at this period. A persecuted party in the state may well have invoked the aid of the warlike S'akas of S'akadvipa or Scythia (part of the Punjab) in order to crush a cruel despot; and as history has so often shown, such allies are not unlikely to have seized the Kingdom for themselves. Both the tyrant Gardhabhilla, whose misdeeds were responsible for the introduction of these avengers and his son Vikramāditya who afterwards drove the S'akas out of the realm, according to the story, may perhaps be historical characters; and from the account which represents Vikramāditya as having come to Ujjayini from Pratishthāna we may infer that they were connected with the Andhras."

(6) Do the coins or inscriptions of Azes I or his successors Azelises and Azes II bear the era of Azes I? The Taktabāhi inscription of Gondophernes the successor of Azes II, mentions an era, but does not refer like Sir John Marshall's Taxila inscription to Azes. The year 103 on it may refer to the S'aka era and may be equivalent to 181 A. D., as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar [1] and Mr. R. D. Banerjee [2] hold.

(7) The document, on which Sir John Marshall and Professor Rapson base the era of Azes I, appears to be an inscription and not a coin. May it not be

1 P. H. I.—p. 37. 2. E. H. I.—p 248, n.

a spurious inscription connected with a grant like the notorious Gayā copperplate inscription of Samudragupta ?

(8) The era of Azes cannot explain the Vikrama Samvat which is associated with Mālavagaṅasthiti or the firm establishment of Mālava community in Central India.

Even admitting that 'Ayasa' refers to Azes I, and 'great King, supreme King of Kings, son of the gods, Khushāna,' refers to Vima Kadphises, the Predecessor of Kanishka, there is nothing to preclude the supposition that the Mālava or Vikrama era[1] and also the era of Azes I were inaugurated in the same year. The Scythio-Parthian monarchy reached the highest point of prosperity under Azes I who commemorated his greatness by means of an era. But at that time also his army or another section of the S'akas who had established themselves at Mathurā, was decisively defeated by king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini at the head of Mālavagana or clan, in commemoration of which brilliant achievement was initiated the Mālava or Vikrama Era. Later on, the two eras which began in the same year, coalesced into one. This is also borne out by the fact that there is a difference of seven months between the northern Vikrama Era and the southern or true Vikrama era.

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1. P. H. I. p. 37.
2. G. H. I. p. 248 n.

Mr. H. K. Deb in his learned essay "Vikramāditya and his Era" has pointed out that the great Vikramāditya of the first century B. C. was none other than Gautamiputra S'ātakarni of the Andhra Dynasty, who is mentioned as the founder of an era in the Matsyapurāna, and who was styled Vārana Vikrama (powerful like an elephant), and whose inscriptions bear, for example, the years 'Savachare (Samvatsare) 18' and Savachare 24'—which some have contended as his regnal years, and who had vassal kings and whose dominions extended from the Godāvari to Rājputana. But if, as Mr. Vincent Smith says, his son and successor Pulumāyi had married the daughter of Rudradāmana I, whose Girnār inscription bears the date 72 of the S'aka era, corresponding to 150 A. D., Gautamiputra could not have flourished in the middle of the first century B. C. .The Girnār inscription however, simply says that Rudradāmana was closely connected with S'ātakarni. But if the Nāsik inscriptions of Gautamiputra S'ātakarni relate to the plots of land, which belonged to Ushabhadatta (son-in-law of Nahapāna of the Kshatrapa Dynasty) ,who flourished about 41 of the S'aka Era or 119 A. D. ,then also there is difficulty in identifying Gautamiputra Sātakarni with the Vikramāditya of 57 B. C. [1]

It is possible that the Vikramāditpa (Son of Gardhavilla) the generalissimo of the Mālavas,

1. Epigraphica Indica—Vol. VIII, pp. 71. and 82.

whose defeat of the S'akas led to the firm establishment (स्थिति) of the Mālavas as a formidable tribe, after their continuance as an independent nation had been threatened by the S'akas, magnanimously allowed the Era to be named after his people (gana), though every one knew that it was really associated with his great victory. This tradition in later times revived the name of 'Vikramāditya or Vikrama' in connection with the era, after his glories had been enhanced by the memories of other Vikramādityas like Gautamiputra S'ātakarni (of Paithān and Ujjayini), and Chandragupta II (who frequently resided at Ujjayini), and even by those of Harshavardhana (606—47) of Kanauj, king, author and patron of authors, and by those of King Bhoja (1,018—60) of the Paramāra family who had his capital at Dhārā near Ujjayini, and who was both a scholar and a patron of learned men, as had been the case with Alexander the Great. Arthur, and Charlemagne in Europe.

The King Vikramāditya of Ujjayini was not only a great king and general, but he was like Harshavardhana of Kanauj and Charles the Great, King of the Franks and Head of the Holy Roman Empire, a patron of letters, though the verse which enumerates the nine gems of his court is beyond doubt a spurious piece of composition.

धन्वन्तरिः क्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कु—
वेतालभट्टघटकर्परकालिदासाः ।
ख्यातोवराहमिहिरो नृपतेस्सभायां
रत्नानिवररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ।

(In the court of King Vikramāditya there were nine gems : viz, Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka, Amarasimha, S'anku, Vetālabhatta, Ghatakarpara, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuchi). All traces of the works of Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka and Vetālabhatta have been lost.

Amarasimha was the compiler of a Kosha or Sanskrit Dictionary called Amarakosha. There is a tradition that he was a Jaina, that he erected a temple at Buddhagayā, and that many of his works were destroyed by the great Reformer and Philosopher S'ankarāchāryya, who flourished about 800 A. D.. Dr. Macdonell says [1], 'The Amarakosha occupies the same dominant position in lexicography as Pānini in grammar ; not improbably composed about 500 A. D.''

S'anku was probably the same as S'ankuka referred to by Dr. Keith, on whose earlier work on Poetics was based the Vyaktiviveka of Mahiman Bhatta who flourished about 1050 A. D. and who stated that "inference was sufficient explanation of the enjoyment of poetry." [2]

The date of Ghatakarpara is not known. A lyric poem of a very artificial character, consisting only of twentytwo stanzas and marked by the use of yamakas; called after the author's name 'Ghatakarpara' or potsherd which is worked into the last verse, is ascribed to him. [3]

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1. S. L. 433.
2. C. S. L. p. 139.
3. Ibid p. 114 & S. L. p. 339.

Vararuchi is credited with a Kâvya by Patanjali, author of the Mahābhāshya or 'the great commentary' on Panini (the famous grammarian who flourished about 300 B.C.) and of Yoga Sutras which form the basis of the Yoga Philosophy. Patanjali lived about 150 B. C. . Vararuchi is said also to have been the author of a treatise on Poetics. So he must have flourished earlier than 150 B. C. [1]

Varāhamihira, the famous astrologer and astronomer, was born adout 505 A. D. ,and died in 587 A. D. He was the author of three works on Astrology, viz, Brihat-Samhitā, Brihajjâtaka or Horâ s'âstra and Laghu-jâtaka. He was also the author of Panchasiddhāntikā, a practical astronomical treatise which he composed, as he himself says, in 427 of the S'aka Samvat, corresponding to 505 A. D.. [2]

So it is evident that all these authors could not have been contemporaries and been associated with the Vikramāditya of 58-57 B.C. .This couplet , Dr. Macdonell writes,though often quoted,is 'an ill-authenticated verse occurring in a work of the sixteeth century'.[3] Under the circumstances we do not obtain any help from it regarding the date of Kālidāsa, who is also mentioned as one of the nine intellectual gems of Vikramāditya's court.

That Kālidāsa was later than As'vaghosha is almost certain. As'vaghosha, Dr. Keith says, is in all likelihood

1. Macdonell & Keith.
2. Macdonell and V Reu.
3. C. S L. -P.23

'to be reckoned as a contemporary of Kanishka and assigned with him either to the end of the first or the middle of the second century A. D.' He also says that As'vaghosha influenced Kālidāsa's style [1], and refers to the fact that Kālidāsa must have been indebted to As'vaghosha for some passages of Raghuvams'a. "To deny or minimise the influence of As'vaghosha on Kālidāsa is idle; the exit of the young Prince from the city brings the women to the windows and tops of the houses to gaze on his beauty, a passage (in his Buddha Charita) which evokes the rivalry of Kālidāsa's description of Aja's entry in the Raghuvams'a." [2]

In Kālidāsa's drama Mālavikāgnimitram, the following occurs:—

सूत्रधार—अभिहितोऽस्मि विद्वत्परिषदा कालिदासग्रथितवस्तु मालविकाग्निमित्रं नाम नाटकमस्मिन् वसन्तोत्सवे प्रयोक्तव्यमिति ।

पारिपार्श्विक—मातावत् । प्रथितयशसां भाससौमिल्लकविपुत्रादीनां प्रबन्धानतिक्रम्य वर्त्तमानकवेः कालिदासस्य क्रियायां कथं बहुमानः ।

(Manager - I have been asked by the Learned Assembly to enact Kālidāsa's drama, Malavikāgnimitram, at this spring festival.

Actor - Not so, I pray. Why should the audience pass over the compositions of famous poets Bhāsa, Saumilla, Kaviputra and others, and do great honour to the work of Kālidasa, a modern poet ?)

From the above it appears that Kālidāsa was the author of Mālavikāgnimitram and that he was later than Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kaviputra. Mālavikāgni-

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1. S. D. p. 161.
2. C. S. L p. 25.

mitram is a historical drama· The S'is'unāga dynasty (642-322 B.C.) was followed by the Mauryya dynasty (322-185 B.C.) established by Chandragupta. This was succeeded by the S´unga dynasty (185-73-B.C.), the first king of which was Pushyamitra S'unga (185-149 B.C.), who ascended the Magadha throne after killing his master Brihadratha Mauryya in 185 B·C. , of whose army he was the S´enāpati (commander-in-chief), by which title he is referred to in Mālavikāgnimitram.

Yajnasena and Mādhavasena claimed the throne of Vidarbha. The former became victorious in the conflict. The latter being desirous of allying himself with the powerful Prince Agnimitra (heir-apparent of Pushyamitra), and also his Viceroy at Vidis'ā (Bhilsā), by marrying his sister Mālavika to him and thus securing his support, set out with her and with an escort for Vidis´ā. But they were imprisoned by the frontier-officer of Yajnasena. Mādhavasena's minister, Sumati, and his widowed sister Kaus´iki escaped from the prison with Mālavikā. They were waylaid by robbers, and in the fight Sumati was killed. Mālavika escaped to the Court of Agnimitra, where she was engaged by the chief queen, Dhārini, as her personal attendant. Later on Kaus´iki, who had assumed the role of a nun or Parivrājikā joined them; but her disguise prevented her from being recognised by Mālavikā. The helplessness, beauty and modesty of Mālavikā, who was a mere girl, won the heart of the chief queen, who entrusted her to Ganadāsa, the dancing and singing master, for training. Her portrait made the

King fall in love with her. Gautama, the court-jester and the King's companion to gratify his master's desire to see Mālavika, provoked a quarrel between Ganadāsa and his rival Haradatta. Ganadāsa establish -ed his superiorty as a teacher by exhibiting Mālavikā, (though against the wishes of the chief queen, who had suspected the design,)as a dancer and singer before the Court. Mālavikā's beautiful dance and suggestive and pathetic song charmed the audience, and the King and Mālavikā fell deeply in love with each other.

Mālavikā, being accompanied by her attendant Vakulāvalikā, came at the direction of Dhārini to the garden to touch with her left foot the As'oka tree to make it blossom, and opened out her heart to her attendant, who being in the confidence of the King, readily consented to help her. The King overhearing Mālavikā's conversation with her attendant, and understanding that his love was reciprocated, came forth from his hiding place, and was about to embrace her, when the second queen Irāvati flushed with drink and stung with jealousy suddenly came out of her place of concealment. and in a tone of bitter satire insulted the King and repudiated his advances, and induced the chief queen to confine Mālavikā with her attendant in an underground cell. The court-jester Gautama, skilfully brought about their release by feigning that he had been bitten by a snake, and by procuring the snake-crested ring, of great efficacy in snake-poison, from the kind-hearted Dhārini, which he produced before the jailor. Gautama and Vakulāvalikā contrived another meeting between the King and

Mālavikā in an arbour, when they were again surprised by Irāvati, but they were extricated from the delicate situation by Dhārini's daughter Vasulakshmi, being attacked by a monkey in the garden. The tide now turned in Mālavikā's favour. The As'oka blossomed and as the chief queen had promised to fulfil Mālavikā's wish, when the flowers of the As'oka would come out, she magnanimously made arrangements for Mālavikā's marriage with the King. Two favourable items of news brought about the peaceful union of Mālavikā with her royal lover. One was the report of the victory won by Agnimitra's army over the King of Vidarbha or Berar ; and among those who came with this good news were two girls, who recognised Mālavikā as the Vidarbha princess, and later on Kaus'iki as well. The other was the communication by Pushyamitra of the victory won by Vasumitra, (his grandson and the son of Agnimitra and Dhārini) over the cavalry of the Yavanas, who had captured Pushyamitra's As'vamedha horse. The first news removed all objections to Agnimitra's marrying below his rank, and the second disarmed completely the jealousy of Dhārini, if she had any at that time; and she in the moment of her elation united Mālavikā with her husband.

The first news refers to the historical fact, the war between Vidisā and Vidharbha in which Yagnasena was worsted by the King Agnimitra of Vidarbha, as a result of which Vidarbha was divided into two provinces, separated by the river Varadā (Wardhā) which is now the boundary between Berar and the

Central Provinces.[1] Agnimitra appointed Mādhava-sena to the southern, and Yagnasena to the northern principality.

The second event was more important than the first. It ended "the second and last attempt by a European general to conquer India by land .... From the repulse of Menander, (the Yavana or Greek King), in or about 153 B.C. until the bombardment of Calicut by Vascodagama in A.D. 1502, India enjoyed immunity from attack under European leadership".[2] Menander, the Greek king of Kabul and the Punjab, wanted to emulate the exploits of Alexander, and at the head of a formidable force annexed the Indus delta, the peninsula of Surāshtra (Kāthiawar), Mathurā and besieged Madhyamikā (Nāgari near Chitore) and Sāketam in southern Oudh, and threatened even Pātaliputra, the capital. This invasion (155-153 B.C.) was repelled by Pushyamitra after a severe struggle, and Menander was obliged to retire to his own country.[3] The decisive battle was fought on the Sindhu, either Kāli-Sindhu, a tributary of the Charmanvati (Chambal) flowing within a hundred miles of Madhyamikā near Chitor, or the Sindhu, a tributary of the Yamunā, which would naturally be passed by invading forces on the route between Mathurā and Prayāg.[4] From the above, it will appear that Kālidāsa, the author of Mālvikāgnimitram, must have flourished later than 150 B.C. .

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1. See also C. H. I, p. 519 2. E. H. I. p. 210.
3. Ibid 4. C. H. I. p. 520

In the same passage (quoted on p 29) from Mālavikāgnimitram it is mentioned that Kālidāsa was later than the dramatists Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kaviputra Dr. Keith says that the probability that Kālidāsa was influenced by Bhāsa, his predecessor, is turned into certainty by the numerous coincidences between the works of the two writers. [1] In Act I of Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam Dushmanta admires the propriety of the bark-dress of his lady-love, a maiden of the hermitage. In Bhāsa's Pratimānātaka Sitā is described as wearing her dress of bark, which evokes the admiration of her female companion. So S'akuntalā's watering the garden as an act of penance, and her bidding farewell to flowers and trees, which are her foster-children, have their parallels in Bhāsa's Pratimānātaka. Dushmanta's assuring Anasuyā that her speech of welcome is sufficient hospitality, is similar to Vāsavadatta's appreciation of the courteous words of the lady of the hermitage in Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadattā. Again Dushmanta's command to his general to avoid disturbance in the hermitage resembles the advice given by the chamberlain to the servant in this play of Bhâsa. The loss of the lute by Udayana, Bhāsa's hero, and the loss of the ring by S'akuntalā are parallel incidents. As Dushmanta consoles himself with the portrait of S'akuntalā, whom he thinks he has lost for ever, so Udayana does with the portrait of Vāsavadattā, sent by his parents-in-law (Act vi)

1. S. D. pp. 124—26.

The curse pronounced on S'ákuntalâ by Durvâsâ, to which her sufferings are due, resembles that pronounced on Avimâraka, the hero of Bhâsa's drama of the same name, by Chandabhârgava, which reduces him to a humble rank. As in Abhijnâna-S'ákuntalam the lovers are united at the hermitage of the sage Mârichâ, so in Avimâraka they become united at the home of Nârada. But it may be said that it is Bhâsa who has imitated Kâlidâsa, and that the latter is not indebted to the former. If it were so, Bhāsa's passages would not be 'feeble and tasteless' and Kâlidâsa's 'apt and brilliant'.[1] Dr, Keith says, "If we place Bhâsa about A.D. 300, we go as far as the evidence allows." [2] (See also Chap. VII).

Râjs'ekhara, the dramatist and critic of Mahârāshtra, who flourished about 900 A.D. according to Doctors Macdonell and Keith, mentions Saumilla along with Bhâsa and Ramilla, and ascribes to Saumilla and Ramilla S'udraka-kathâ or the Romance of S'udraka, who is also introduced by Bânabhatta in his Kâdambari.

'Kaviputra' mentioned in the verse quoted above should according to Dr. Keith be dual, that is, 'Kaviputrau'. These two Kaviputras are referred to in Subhâshitâbali or an anthology of verses compiled by Vallabhadeva in the fifteenth century. Probably they worked together like Saumilla or Somila and Ramila, and Beaumont and Fletcher.

1. S. D. p. 124
2. Ibid p. 95.

That the dramas of Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kaviputras were earlier than those of Kālidāsa, is evident from the verse quoted. The works of Saumilla and Kaviputras are not extant, and their exact dates cannot be determined.

That Kâlidâsa flourished earlier than Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the author of Harshacharita or the biography of the great King Harshavardhana (606-647 A.D.) of Kanauj is evident from the following verse which occurs in his Harshacharita--

निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
प्रीतिर्मधुरसान्द्रासु मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ॥

(Is there any one who does not appreciate the good, sweet and charming utterances of Kâlidâsa, which are like fresh blossoms?). According to Dr. Keith Harshacharita was composed about 650 A.D. [1].

Another item of evidence which establishes Bāṇabhatta's being posterior to Kālidāsa is adduced by Ratnāvali. Both Mr. Wilson and Sir M. Monier-Williams are of opinion that the author of the Ratnāvali is indebted to Kâlidāsa. "The author is under considerable obligation to his predecessors and specially to Kâlidāsa, from the Vikramorvas'i of which writer, several situations and some of the dialogues even are borrowed." [2] Again "The plot of the Ratnâvali resembles in its love-intrigues that of the Vikramorvas'i, Mâlavikâgnimitra &c., and in like manner presents us with

1. C. S. L. p. 31.
2. Theatre of the Hindus by H. H. Wilson.

a valuable picture of Hindu manners in medieval times." [1] According to Dr. Macdonell Ratnâvali was probably composed in the first half of the seventh century, at least before Harsha's death which occurred in 647, by Bâna resident at his court, to whom it has been ascribed by tradition.

The occurrence of Greek astronomical terms like jâmitra (*diametron*) the lion in the zodiac, and uchcha (L. *aux*-apex of a planet's orbit) in Kumârasambhava, Vikramorvas'i and Raghuvams'a has led some scholars to place Kâlidâsa after Aryyabhata,[2] 'who was born, as he himself tells us, at Pâtaliputra in 476 A.D. These terms do not occur in Suryya Siddhanta, the first Hindu astronomical work, composed about 300 A.D. But it has been shown by Dr. Thibaut that an Indian astronomical treatise, undoubtedly written under Greek influence, the Romaka Siddhânta or 'the Roman Manual', is older than Aryyabhatiya (Aryyabhata's work), and cannot be placed later than 400 A.D. "It may be added that a passage of Kâlidâsa's Raghuvams'am—छायाहि भूमेः शशिनो मलत्वेनारोपिता शुद्धिमतः प्रजाभिः—(xiv-40) has been erroneously adduced in support of the astronomical argument (that Kâlidâsa was later than Aryyabhata) as implying that eclipses of the moon are due to the shadow of the earth: it really refers only to the spots in

1. Indian Wisdom by Sir. M. Monier Williams.
2. S.D. p. 146.

in the moon as are caused, in accordance with the doctrine in the Purânas by a reflection of the earth". [1]

In the Aihole (Ayyâvole in the Bijâpur Dìstrict) inscription of Prince Ravikirtti composed in connexion with the erection of the stone-temple of Jinendra during the reign of Pulikes'i II in 556 S'aka (634 35 A.D.) occurs the following "विजयताम् रविकीर्त्तिः कविताश्रित-कालिदासभारविकीर्त्तिः (Victorious be Ravikirtti, who has attained the fame of Kâlidâsa and Bhâravi) [2]

From what has been said above, it is clear that Kâlidâsa flourished later than 400 A.D. and earlier than 634 A.D. .

To say as Mr S. Ray has done, that Kâlidâsa lived after the publication of the grammar of Pânini (400 B.C.) and before that of Patanjali (2nd. century B.C.) on the ground that some of the expressions used by Kâlidâsa are not sanctioned by Patanjali, though they are allowed by Pânini, is opposed to the history of the development of Sanskrit. "Patanjali wrote his Bhâshya for a language, which was fast vanishing and going out of use. It is a well-known fact that when he wrote, literary vernaculars (which were influencing Sanskrit) had grown up in different provinces and that he was legislating for the speech of the *Sishtas* only. The word *Sishta* means a well-to-do Brâhman inhabitant of Âryyâvarta, who was an expert in at least one of the sciences of

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1. S. L. p. 325. 2. Indian Antiquary, Vol. VIII p. 237.

the Hindus............ Other schools of grammar were constantly rising up for the purpose of validating Vernacularised expressions in Sanskrit, or better perhaps, Sanskritised Vernacular expressions." [1]

That Kālidāsa composed his lyric poems Ritusamhāra and Meghaduta before 473—74 A.D. (529 Vikrama or Mālava Samvat) is evident from an inscription (Pras'asti or panegyric on the temple of the Sun) composed in accordance with the orders of the Guild (श्रेणीआदेशेन) of Silk-weavers of Dasapura or Mandasor, in the reign of the Gupta Emperor Kumāragupta II (469—476 A.D.) by Vatsabhatti to commemorate the erection in 437—38 A.D. and the repair in 473—74 A.D, of the temple by the Guild of Silk-weavers, who had emigrated from Latavishaya or Central and Southern Gujerat into the city of Dasapura, which was then being governed by King Bandhuvarman. [2]

This inscription consists "of a poem of no fewer than fourtyfour stanzas" composed in the Kâvya style by "Vatsabhatti, a man of inferior poetic talent, who knew and utilised the poems of Kâlidâsa" [3], as the following quotations will show, and who himself alleged that he had produced his work with effort (इयं प्रयत्नेन रचिता वत्सभट्टिना).

While giving a glowing description of Dasapura, the new home of the Guild of Silk-weavers, which

1. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, Pt. I.
2. C. I. 18.
3. S. L. pp. 320—21.

became the forehead-decoration of the earth (and) which was adorned with a thousand mountains and with trees weighed down with flowers, and with lakes beautified by ducks and water-lilies, Vatsabhatti describes the houses of the city thus :—

> चलत्पताकान्यबलासनाथान्यत्यर्थशुक्लान्यधिकोन्नतानि ।
> तडिल्लताचित्रसिताभ्रकूटतुल्योपमानानि गृहानि यत्र ॥
> कैलासतुङ्गशिखरप्रतिमानि चान्यान्याभान्ति दीर्घवलभिनी
> सवेदिकानि ।
> गान्धर्व्वशब्दमुखरानि निविष्टचित्रकर्म्माणि लोलकदलीवन-
> शोभितानि ॥

'Here the houses have waving flags (and) are full of tender women, (and) are very white, (and) extremely lofty, resembling the peaks of white clouds lit up with forked lightning. And other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful, being like the lofty summits of (the mountain) Kailâsa, and being vocal with songs (like those) of the Gandharvas; having pictured representations arranged (in them) ; (and) being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees." [1]

Compare with this the sixty-sixth stanza (the first stanza of the second cloud—उत्तरमेघः) of Kâlidâsa's Meghaduta. where the Yaksha, who has been feeling keenly his long separation from his wife as a punishment inflicted on him by his

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1. C. I.—18.

master for neglect of duty, and who has entreated a Cloud to carry a message to her, describes to him (the Cloud) the city of Alakā, where his beloved is living—

विद्युद्वन्तं ललितवनिताः सेन्द्रचापं सचित्राः,
संगीताय प्रहतमुरजाः स्निग्धगर्जनप्रघोषम् ।
अन्तस्तोयं मणिमयभुवस्तुङ्गमभ्रंलिहाग्राः,
प्रासादास्त्वां तुलयितुमलं यत्र तैस्तैर्विशेषैः ॥

তড়িত-তুলনা ললনা যথায়
ইন্দ্র-ধনু চিত্রগণেতে রাজে ;
গম্ভীরে গরজি, মেঘ-মন্দ্র প্রায়,
যেথানে মধুর মুরজ বাজে ;
মণি-নিরমিত, জলে মেঘ যথা ,
অভ্রে মিশি যার শিখর রয় ;
প্রতি গুণে ধরে তোমারই প্রথা
যে পুরীর হেন প্রাসাদ চয়— B. C. M.

There every palace with thy glory vies,
Whose soaring summits kiss the lofty skies;
Whose beauteous inmates bright as lightning glare,
And tabors mock the thunders of the air;
The rainbow flickering gleams along the walls,
And glittering rain, in sparkling diamonds, falls.-W.

(सचित्राः adorned with pictures, has been omitted in the translation)

Compare also Vatsabhatti's—

"यत्र सरांसि ....
विलोलवीचीचलितारविन्दपतद्रजः पिञ्जरितैश्च हंसैः"

where,i.e , in Daśapura, the lakes are beautiful with the swans that are encaged in the pollen that falls from the water-lilies shaken by the tremulous waves", [1]

with the following from Meghaduta—

हंसश्रेणीरचितरशना नित्यपद्मा नलिन्यः [2]

where, i.e., in Alakâ- (the lakes are full of) lotus plants, which always bear flowers, and which are surrounded, as it were with a girdle, with rows of swans.

Also Vatsabhatti's—

स्वपुष्पभारावनतैर्नगेन्द्रैः मंदप्रगल्भालिकुलस्वनैश्च

(Here, i.e., in Daśapura the woods are adorned with lordly trees that are bowed down by the weight of their flowers and are full of the sounds of the flights of bees that hum loudly through intoxication (caused by the juices of the flowers that they suck) [3], with Kālidāsa's

यत्रोन्मत्तभ्रमरमुखराः पादपा नित्यपुष्पाः—

(Where, i.e., in Alakā, the trees always bear flowers and resound with the music of intoxicated bees)[4]

We may compare also the description of the winter at Daśapura, where the Solar Temple was erected in 493 (Mālava Era)—

चन्द्रांशुहर्म्यतलचन्दनतालवृन्तहारोपभोगरहिते हिमदग्धपद्मे—

(which season on account of cold) is destitute of

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1. C.I. no 18.
2. M.D. 70.
3 C.I. 18.
4. M.D.-70.

the enjoyment of the beams of the moon and (sitting in the open air on) the flat roofs of houses and sandalwood perfumes and palm fans and necklaces, [1]

with Kâlidâsa's description of the same season (शिशिर or winter, literally, the dewy season), in his Ritusamhâra or the Cycle of Seasons —

न चन्दनं चन्द्रमरीचिशीतलं न हर्म्यपृष्ठं शरदिन्दुनिर्म्मलम्।
न वायवः सान्द्रतुषारशीतला, जनस्य चित्तं रमयन्ति साम्प्रतं ॥[2]

(Now fragrant sandal, cooled by Chandra's ray,
Nor roofs of houses lighted by the moon,
Nor breezes cold, with long-continued frost,
Afford delight, or animate the mind—S.J.

Also Kâlidâsa's स्वपन्ति शीतं परिभूय कामिनः " i.e., lovers overcoming the bitter cold of winter enjoy a sound sleep,

with the similar idea in Vatsabhatti's description of winter in which the falling of frost and snow is derided by lovers.

M. M. H. P. S'âstri [3] after saying that the inscription of 404 A.D. describes the rainy season, that of 423 autumn, that of 437 winter, and those of 473 and 533 spring, states that the resemblances between Vatsabhatti and Kâlidâsa simply prove the existence of a poetic custom in the period (404-533 A.D.) to describe seasons in a particular manner and do not establish the indebtedness of one poet to the other. But the points of agreement

1. C.I.-18.
2. S'is ira-3.
3. J.B.O.R.S.

are so many, that the theory of indebtedness cannot be thus explained away.

That Kālidāsa will borrow some of the passages of his Meghaduta and Ritusamhāra from Vatsabhatti, will appear improbable to every one, who has taken care to compare these two poems with Vatsabhatti's poem in the Mandasor inscription[1]. Vatsabhatti himself says that he has composed it with much pains (पूर्व्वांचेयम्—the aforesaid panegyric on the Temple of the Sun—प्रयत्नेन रचिता वत्सभट्टिना). Though he "makes every attempt to show his knowledge of the rules of the Kāvya, uses no less than twelve metres" and describes, the two seasons of winter and spring, his inferiority to Kālidāsa is beyond question, specially on account of his adoption of the stilted Gauda or eastern style as shown by the "use of long compounds in verse even to the extent of filling a whole stanza, more often to filling a line" [2]. Kālidāsa follows the earlier, simpler, and more refined Vaidarbha or southern style in his poetry. The decline of Kāvya style began with the death of Kālidāsa (see Chap. VI).

In the circumstances we shall not be very wrong, if we place Kālidāsa between the approximate limits 400 and 473 A.D . It is needless to say that there is no connexion between him and Vikramāditya of 58 B.C. .

There is still at Ujjaini the tradition that Kālidāsa was the poet of the court of Vikramā-

1. C. I. 18. 2. C. S. L. p. 49.

ditya, and that Vikramāditya succeeded his elder brother Bhartrihari, who being disgusted with the faithlessness of his wife, resigned his kingship, and began to practise austerities in a dark labyrinthine underground cell, in which is to be found his image in the attitude of meditation This cell is situated on the S'iprā amidst the ruins of an old town. There are still to be found at Ujjaini the Chabbiskhāmbā or the twenty-four-pillared gate of Vikramāditya, the Kālikādevi of Vikramāditya and Kālidāsa Pandit, as the Pāndā or priest styled the great poet, the Mahākāla or S'iva, mentioned by the poet in his Meghaduta, and still visited by numerous pilgrims, and the hermitage of Sāndipani, the preceptor of Krishna and Balarāma. Of course there were several Vikramâdityas associated with this ancient city, the first having flourished about 58 B.C.. The present Ujjaini is a big town containing more than fifty thousand inhabitants, and standing on the Siprâ, and belonging to the Mahârâjâ of Gwalior and enjoying among other amenities electric light and filtered water. Among other places of interest the Observatory of Sawaji Jaysing with its mathematical instruments made of the finest marble and situated on a secluded and beautiful bend of the S'iprâ is worth visiting. The climate is mild even in midsummer. The shortest route from Calcutta is *via* Chheoki (near Allahabad), Kâtni, Binâ and Bhupâl.

Though Vikramâditya and Kâlidâsa are now

mere names in this old and famous city, though its "glory and glow" have passed away, yet the visitor, who is not wholly engrossed "by the present's spell", cannot but exclaim here, on seeing an ancient relic, with Longfellow,—

This is the place. Stand still my steed.
Let me review the scene,
And summon from the shadowy past.
The forms that once have been.

Chapter II.

Kalidasa and Yasodharman.

'Great is advertisement with little men'—Sir Owen Seaman.

Let us now examine the hypothesis that Kālidāsa was a contemporary of Yas'odharman, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Huns led by their emperor Mihiragula. This was achieved about 528 A.D. [1].

Kālidāsa in describing the Digviyaya (world-conquest) of Raghu says—

तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।
कपोलपाटलादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥[2]

(Raghu showed so much prowess to the Huns on the Sindhu, that their wives rendered their cheeks red by striking them with their hands on account of the death of their husbands).

In the latter part of the fourth Century A.D. a fresh batch of nomads moved westwards from the steppes of Asia to seek subsistence, and became divided into two main streams—one directed its devastating course towards Europe and the other towards the valley of the Oxus [3]. "By the middle of the fifth century the latter"—the Hephthalites,

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1. E. H. I. p. 337.
2. R. V. IV. 68.
3. E. H. I. p. 333.

Ephthalites or White Huns—"founded a powerful empire in the Oxus basin, whence they carried their conquest down to Gāndhāra and beyond the Indus in the South, and as far as Khotan and Karashahr in the East." [1]

These barbarians (specially the western section) are thus described by Dr. Smith—"The Huns were an Asiatic race who dwelt for some centuries in the plain of Tartary and were formidable to the Chinese Empire, long before they were known to the Romans. It was to repel the inroads of the Huns that the Chinese built their celebrated wall, fifteen hundred miles in length. A portion of the nation afterwards migrated westwards, conquered the Alani, a warlike race between the Volga and Tanais and then crossed into Europe about 375 A D. . The appearance of these barbarians excited the greatest terror both among the Romans and the Germans. They are described by the Greek and Roman historians as hideous and repulsive beings resembling apes, with broad shoulders, flat noses and small black eyes deeply buried in their head, while their manners and habits were savage to the last degree" [2].

The Chinese traveller Sung Yun, who was sent in 518 A.D, by the Chinese Empress of the Northern Wei Dynasty to seek for sacred Buddhistic books, crossed the Tsungling mountains, and came to the land of the Yetha(Ephthalites), who had

1. Sir A. Stein—Ancient Khotan Chap. III, Section II, p. 58.
2. Smith's Classical Dictionary.

by this time acquired settled habits, and whom he thus describes—'They have no walled towns, but they keep order by means of a standing army that constantly moves here and there. These people use felt garments......... They have no written character.........They receive tribute from all surrounding nations, on the south as far as Tiehlo, on the north the entire country of Laeleh, eastward to Khotan, and west to Persia—more than forty countries in all.........The king puts on his robes of state and takes his seat upon a gilt couch, which is, supported by four golden Phœnix birds.........The royal ladies of the Yetha country also wear state robes, which trail on the ground three feet and more; they have special train-bearers for carrying those lengthy robes. They also wear on their heads a horn in length eight feet and more, three feet of its length being red coral.........Both the rich and poor have their distinctive modes of dress. These people are of all the four tribes of barbarians the most powerful. The majority of them do not believe in Buddha. Most of them worship false gods. They kill living creatures and eat their flesh........... (In 520 A.D.) we entered the kingdom of Gāndhāra......... this is the country (of the Kushans) which the Yethas destroyed, and they afterwards set up Laeleh (a misreading of the Turkish title tegin[1]) to be king over the country; since which event

1. E. H. I. p. 328 n.

two generations have passed. The disposition of this king was cruel and vindictive, and he practised the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Buddha, but loved to worship demons. The people of the country belonged entirely to the Brāhman caste; they had a great respect for the law of Buddha, and loved to read the sacred books, when suddenly the king came into power, who was strongly opposed to anything of the sort."[1] The Lae-leh, whom Sungyun saw installed in Gāndhāra in 520 A.D., was Mihiragula or Mihirakula, the son of Toramāna, the Attila of India, as Mr. Vincent Smith calls him. The Gāndhāra section of the White Huns, it appears from Sungyun's account, had established themselves in this part of India in about 484 A.D. after overthrowing the kingdoms of Persia and Kabul.

Skandagupta, the Gupta emperor (455-467 or 469) just after his accession repelled an attack of a swarm of the Huns, who had separated themselves from the main body on the Oxus basin.

The Gupta empire after the conquests of Samudragupta (330-380 A.D.) and Chandragupta II (380 -415) extended from the Brahmaputra on the east (excepting Samatata or the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra) to the Arabian sea on the west, and from the foot of the Himālayas on the north to the Narmada on the south. Sindh, Surāshtra (Kāthiawar) and Cutch were inclu-

1. B. B. R. Vol I p.p. XC, XCI, XCIX, C.

ded in the Gupta dominions. The northwestern boundary was constituted by the Chenab up to its junction with the Sutlej. Between the Chenab on the northwest and the Chambal on the southwest there were several republican or oligarchical tribes e.g., the Yaudheyas, the Madrakas and the Arjunāyanas under the protection of the Gupta emperor. The portion of western India, west of the Chambal, north of Barada, and south of Bikanir, was not under the Guptas. "Beyond these wide limits the frontier kingdoms of Assam (Kāmarupa)and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himālayas, and the free tribes of Rajputana (already mentioned) and Mālwa were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance" [1]. The whole of the south of India except Chera and Pandya in the extreme south was overrun by Samudragupta and had to acknowledge his supremacy at least for the time being. Even the king of Ceylon sent two monks with gems as presents and requested his permission to found a monastery at Buddha Gaya.

The Huns, after their settlement at Gāndhāra (District of Peshawar) in about 480 A.D., conquered the country between Gāndhāra and the Chenab (the northwestern limit of the Gupta empire). Then they marched southwards and must have experienced considerable difficulty in

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1. E. H. I. p. 303.

overcoming the protected warlike tribes of Rājputānā. But the latter could not stem the devastating onrush of the barbaric horde, and shared the same fate as that of the Ostrogoths and Romans in Europe.

There is reason to believe that the Huns did not find the conquest of the Gupta dominions between the Ganges and the Narmada so easy. They could only drive a wedge into this portion between Mandasor and Ujjaini in the west and Banda, Nagod and Jabbalpur on the east. After the death of Skandagupta, this tract became virtually independent under local chiefs. Some of them like Yas'odharman completely severed their connexion with the Gupta Emperor, and others nominally acknowledged his suzerainty, as the inscriptions indubitably prove.

In the Indore (Indrapur in Central India) copper-plate inscription dated 465—66 A. D., Skandagupta is described as Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājādhirāja. Skandagupta was succeeded by Kumāragupta II who ruled from 469 to 476. Even he is thus described in the Stone-slab inscription of the Silk-weavers of Mandasor in Central India, commemorating their repair of a Solar temple in 473—74 A. D. .—

चतुःसमुद्रान्तविलोलमेखलाम् सुमेरुकैलासबृहत्पयोधराम् ।
वनान्तवान्तस्फुटपुष्पहासिनीम् कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीम् प्रशासति

(While Kumāragupta was reigning over the (whole) earth, whose pendulous marriage-string is

the verge of the four oceans ; whose large breasts are (the mountains) Sumeru and Kailāsa ; (and) whose laughter is the full-blown flowers showered from the borders of the woods) [1].

The mention of the Mālava year instead of the Gupta year may raise a doubt regarding the solidarity of Kumāragupta's empire, but it is possible that the Mandasor people were more familiar with the Vikrama or Mālava than with the Gupta Era.

In the Erān (situated in the district of Saugor in Central India) inscription[2] commemorating the erection in 484-85 of the flagstaff column (ध्वजस्तम्भ) of god Janārdana or Vishnu by a chief named Mātrivishnu and his brother Dhanyavishnu, during the reign of the feudatory king Surasmichandra and the Suzerain Budhagupta, the latter (Budhagupta who reigned from about 476 to 505 A.D.) is described as a भूपति or King. He is not called Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja. This indicates that Surasmichandra was virtually the king to whom Mātrivishnu was tributary, that Toramāna, the king of the Huns, had not as yet conquered this part of Central India, and that Budhagupta exercised only nominal sovereignty over it.

In the Erān inscription on the image of god Vishnu in the form of a boar (भगवतो वराहमूर्त्तेः) erected by the aforesaid Dhanyavishnu after the

1. Fleet's C. I. p. 86.
2. C. I. no. 19.

death of his brother Mātrivishnu, neither the name of the feudatory Surasmichandra nor of the suzerain Gupta emperor is mentioned, but instead the name of Toramāna, the Hun King, occurs—

"वर्षे प्रथमे पृथिवीं पृथुकीर्त्तौ पृथुद्युतौ महाराजाधिराजश्रीतोरमाने प्रशासति"—

(In the first year while the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Toramāna of great fame (and) of great lustre is governing the earth) [1].

This inscription is not dated, but it is mentioned that it was engraved after the death of Mātrivishnu in the first year of the reign of Toramāna. So it must have been later than 484-85 A.D., the date of the other Erān inscription. Therefore Toramāna must have conquered this portion of Central India—from Gwalior to Saugor after 484-85 A.D.. If we take the year to be 490 A.D., it is necessary for us to regard it as the first year of Toramāna's reign, which may, however, mean his reign in this part of India, which was before this time part of the Gupta Empire.

In the undated Gwalior Sanskrit inscription on the temple of the Sun erected on the Gopa hill of Gwalior by Mātricheta are mentioned the names of the Hun kings Toramāna and his son Mihirakula. " (There was) a ruler (of the earth) of great merit, who was renowned by the name of the glorious Toramāna, by whom,

1. C. I. no. 36.

through (his) heroism that was specially characterised by truthfulness, the earth was governed with justice. Of him the fame of whose family has risen high, the son (is) he of unequalled prowess, the lord of the Earth, who is renowned under the name of Mihirakula (and) who (himself) unbroken (broke the power of Pas'upati). While (he) the king, the remover of distress, possessed of large and pellucid eyes, is governing the earth; in the augmenting (वर्द्धमानराज्ये) reign (and) in the fifteenth year of him the best of kings (पञ्चदश अब्दे नृपवृषस्य) "[1]. If we take 490 A.D.—a hypothetical date—as the first year of Toramāna's reign, and 493 A.D. as the date of Mihirakula's accession to his father's throne, the date of this inscription will be about 508 A.D., as it was composed in the fifteenth year of Mihirakula's reign.

In the Erān stone-pillar inscription of 510-11 A.D. commemorating the glorious death in battle of the illustrious king Goparāja, son of King Mādhava, and the cremation along with his body of his wife, who became a Sati, occurs the name of Bhānugupta, "the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king equal to Pārtha, (the great warrior of the Mahābhārata) exceedingly heroic"[2]. Goparāja appears to be a local chief. Bhānugupta, the Gupta Emperor, came to his assistance, and fought a very famous battle. This must have

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1. C. I. no. 37, p.p. 162-63.
2. C. I. no. 20.

been a fight with Mihiragula or probably with his viceroy, and must have ended inspite of Goparāja's death at the moment of victory, at least in the withdrawal of the Huns from this part of the country, for the name of the Hun King is not mentioned, and the date is given in the Gupta Era.

In the four copper-plate land-grants (numbered as 21, 22, 23 and 25 of Mr. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions) of 475—76, 482—83, 510—11 and 528—29 A.D. to Brāhmans or Gods by Mahārājā Hastin of Dabhālā or western Chedi (Jabbalpur) and his son Samkshobha, the expression गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ (in the enjoyment of sovereignty of Gupta kings) occurs. This shows that though acknowledging nominally the sovereignty of Gupta kings, and using their era, they did not even care to mention the name of the Gupta emperor of the time, and consequently that they were practically independent. The omission of the name of the Hun king also indicates the fact that the Hun dominion did not extend eastwards to Nagod and Jabbalpur. In the undated Stone-pillar inscription, No. 24 of Mahārājās Hastin and Sarvanāth, local chiefs in this part (Baghelkhand Division) of Central India, even the expression गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ (in the enjoyment &c.) does not occur. From these we can reasonably conclude that even before the irruption of the Huns into Central India, the disintegration of the Gupta Empire had begun.

The same conclusions can be drawn from Mr. Fleet's Gupta inscriptions numbered as 26, 27, 28, and

31. In these copperplate grants of lands to Brāhmans or Gods by Mahārājā Jayanātha and his son Sarvanātha of Uchchakalpa (somewhere between Nagod and Jabbalpur) of 493-94, 496-97, 512-13, and 533-34 A.D., the Gupta Era is mentioned, but as in No. 24 even the expression गुप्तनृप &c. (in the enjoyment &c.) is omitted It appears that the chiefs of Uchchakalpa were not inclined to acknowledge even the nominal sovereignty of the Gupta Kings, and Mahārājā Sarvanātha in the copperplate grant No. 24 dissuaded Mahārājā Hastin from mentioning (गुप्त &c.) in the inscription. Even after the signal defeat inflicted by Yaśodharman on Mihirakula before 533-34 A.D., Sarvanātha enjoyed independence, as the copperplate grant (No. 31) proves.

It is also a debatable point whether the district round Mandasor was conquered by the Hun Kings, for Yaśodharman, whom some scholars identify with the legendary Vikramāditya, says in his famous Mandasor inscriptions—

स्थाणोरन्यत्र येन प्रणतिकृपणताम् प्रापितं नोत्तमाङ्गम्

(He by whom (his) head has never been brought into humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthānu (Śiva))[1].

Now who was Yaśodharman? He was most probably a local chief or an astute and able political adventurer, who availing himself of the weakness of the Gupta Empire in the beginning

1. C. I. 33.

of the sixth century, when there was no able ruler like Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, and Skandagupta, made himself the independent King of a small territory with Mandasor or Dasor as his capital. We have seen that Mahārājās Hastin, Samkshova, Jayanātha and Sarvanātha, rulers of the Eastern portion of Central India, similarly made themselves virtually independent. So Yas'odharman, who knew how to advertise himself, could well say that he had never acknowledged the supremacy of any other person except S'iva, the God whom he worshipped, and whom he invoked at the beginning of his inscription, and who enabled him to humiliate his enemies—

"शूलपाणेः क्षपयतु भवताम् शत्रुतेजांसि केतुः।"

('May that banner of (the God) S'ulapani (S'iva) destroy the glory of your enemies)' [1].

Mihirakula or more properly Mihira-gula (the Sun-flower), the Indian Attila, the Scourge specially of the Buddhists, as we shall see later on, became for his atrocities a national menace. Though not hitherto able to advance his standard effectively in Central India, he entertained the design of extending his Indian dominions beyond the Yamunā in the east and in the south. The Gupta Emperor Bālāditya (Narasimhagupta), who had already lost his territory west of the Jumna and part of Central India, concluded a treaty with Mihirakula and agreed to pay him an annual tribute in lieu of further molestation.

1.—C I. 33.

It is true that Bālāditya was still the ruler of part of the United Provinces, Magadha and Bengal, but his kingdom was tottering, and the formidable array of the cruel Huns had demoralised his soldiers, and he was not therefore inclined to imperil the territories which he still retained by fighting a pitched battle. This is evident from Hiuen Tsiang's (629 A D.) statement[1] that Bālādityarāja refused to pay tribute to Mihirakula or Mahirakula. After Mihirakula had been captured by Bālāditya the former remarked "The Subject and the Master have changed places"[2].

But the princes of Central India, which was now. i e., about 525 A.D. threatened by Mihirakula, saw that success depended only on presenting a united front to this terrible enemy. Several princes of northern India like Vishnuvardhana of Thaneswar joined this confederacy of Hindu Princes. Yas'odharman, King of Mandasor, was the Soul of this patriotic movement. The allied army routed the horde of the foreign tyrant in a pitched battle, but the enemy fled with the remnant of his army.

Yas'odharman, who had organised this armed resistance, and who was not noted for his modesty, and who knew that self-advertisement paid—as it does even now—erected a magnificent monolith column more than thirty-nine feet in height with a shaft having sixteen sides on which he ordered the Sculptor Govinda to engrave his

1 & 2—B. B. R.—I—168-69.

achievements, versified at his suggestion with appropriate rhetorical embellishments by Vāsula. The worldly-wise Yas'odharman knew that his glorious feats were too valuable to be left to the tender (though 'tender' is not the right word in connexion with stone) mercies of a single stone-pillar. So he caused another column to be constructed on which he ordered the engraving of a duplicate inscription describing his famous deeds. But he forgot that "Death comes even to monumental stones, and the names inscribed thereon", that "marble and recording brass decay, and like the engraver's memory, pass away". The second memorial-pillar was found broken into fragments, and the first which he fondly hoped "would endure to the time of the destruction of the world" was discovered in 1884 by Mr. Fleet, lying detached from its base and capital in a field near Mandasor, the chief town of the Mandasor district of Mahārājī Scindia's dominions in western Mālwa.

That the Hun king was proud, was cruel and uncultured and was destitute of virtue, is stated by Yaśodharman in the inscription. "He (Yas'odharman) to whose arm.........which is steadfast in the successful carrying-out of vows for the benefit of mankind, the earth betook itself (for succour) when it was afflicted by kings (like Mihirakula) of the present age, who manifested pride, who were cruel through want of proper training, who from delusion transgressed the path of good con-

duct (and) who were destitute of virtuous delights. " [1]

Then Yas'odharman describes his prowess and the extent of his empire—

ये भुक्ता गुप्तनाथैर्न सकलवसुधाक्रान्तिदृष्टप्रतापै—
र्नाज्ञा हूणाधिपानां क्षितिपतिमुकुटाध्यासिनी यान् प्रविष्टा ।
देशांस्तान् ... ...
... ... स्वगृहपरिसरावज्ञाय योभुनक्ति ॥

'He (Yas'odharman) spurning (the confinement of) the boundaries of his own house enjoys those countries which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptas (lordly guptas) whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole earth (and) which the command of the chiefs of the Hunas that established itself on the tiaras of many kings, failed to penetrate. [2]) '

Again—

आलौहित्योपकण्ठात् तलवनगहनोपत्यकादामहेन्द्रा —
दागङ्गाश्लिष्टसानोस्तुहिनशिखरिनः पश्चिमादापयोधेः ।
सामन्तैर्यस्य वाहुद्रविणहृतमदैः पादयोरानमद्भि
श्चूडारत्नांशुराजिव्यतिकरशवला भूमिभागाः क्रियन्ते ॥
... ...
नीचैस्तेनापि यस्य प्रणतिभुजवलावर्ज्जनक्लिष्टमूर्ध्ना—
चूडापुष्पोपहारैर्मिहिरकुलनृपेणार्च्चितं पादयुग्मं ॥

(He before whose feet, chieftains, having their arrogance removed by the strength of (his) arm, bow down, from the neigbourhood of the (river) Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) up to the mountain

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1 & 2. C. I. no. 33.

Mahendra (southwest of Cuttack), the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of (palmyra?) trees (and) from (Himalaya) the mountain of snow, the table-lands of which are embraced by the (river) Gangā, up to the Western Ocean, by which all the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (their heads......... he to whose feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (his) head by even that (famous) Mihirakula, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obeisance.) [1]

From the above it will appear that Yas'odharman boasts of his being the lord of the country between the Himālayas on the north, and the tract watered by the Ganges and its tributaries and Mahendragiri in the Ganjam District on the south, and between the Brahmaputra on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. He also prides himself on his enjoying those countries, which were not ruled even by the Guptas and the Huns. Though he was so great a monarch, yet nothing is known of him except two broken columns, and a stone-slab in which he plays a subordinate part.

The probable explanation is this. The Gupta Emperor had become a tributary or feudatory of the

1. C. I. no. 33.

Hun King. As Yas'odharman at the head of the allied troops defeated Mihirākula, he became theoretically the ruler of both the dominions of the Guptas and of the Huns ; and so his dominions were wider than those of either.

But Yas'odharman's boast was short-lived. We find a few years afterwards, i. e., in 533-34 A.D. that he had himself become the tributary of King Vishnuvardhana.

An inscription of 533-34 A.D., on a stone-tablet was discovered by Mr. Fleet in 1885. It was found in an old well in Mandasor Its object was to record the construction of a large well by Daksha, the younger brother of Dharmadosha, minister of King Vishuvardhana, in memory of their deceased uncle Abhayadatta. Both the inscriptions (and also the duplicate of the first) in which Yas'odharman's name occurs were engraved by the same person Govinda. In it are mentioned not only the name of Yaśodharman, but, also of Vishnuvardhana—

अथ जयति जनेन्द्रः श्रीयशोधर्म्मनामा प्रमदवनमिवान्तः शत्रुसैन्यम् विगाह्य ।
व्रणकिसलयभङ्गैर्य्योऽङ्गभूषाम् विधत्ते तरुणतरुलतावद्वीरकीर्त्तिर्विनम्य ॥
आजौ जिती विजयते जगतीम्पुनश्च श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धननराधिपति स एव ।
प्रख्यात औलिकरलाञ्छनः आत्मवंशोयेनोदितोदितपदम् गमितोगरीयः ॥

Mr. Fleet translates it thus—

"Now victorious is that tribal ruler, having the name of the glorious Yas'odharman, who having plunged into the army of (his) enemies, as if into a grove of thorn-apple trees, (and) having bent down the reputations of heroes like the tender creepers of

trees, effects the adornment of (his) body with the fragments of young sprouts, which are the wounds inflicted by him.

And again victorious over the earth is the same king of men, glorious Vishnuvardhana, the conqueror in war (आजौ जिती) by whom his own famous lineage, which has the *aulikara* crest, has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and higher."

Vishnuvardhana's eulogy does not end here. It is continued thus—"By him (Vishnuvardhana) having brought into subjection with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many kings of the north, this second name of "supreme king of kings and supreme lord" pleasing in the world (but) difficult of attainment, is carried on high,........ Through the dust, grey like the hide of an ass,—stirred up by his armies, which have (their) banners lifted on high ; (and) which have the lodhra-trees tossed about in all directions by the tusks of (their) infuriated elephants , (and) which have the crevices of the Vindhya mountains made resonant with the noise of (their) journeying through the forests,—the orb of the sun appears dark (and) dull-rayed, as if it were an eye in a peacock's tail reversed." [1]

Dr. Macdonell in his History of Sanskrit Literature (p. 23) identifies Yaśodharman with Vishnuvardhana. But Messrs. Fleet and Hoernle differentiate the two. That they were different men appears from Yaśodharman's eulogy being finished

1. C. I 35.

in one couplet, while Vishnuvardhana's description covers as many as four. The former is called a Janendra (a ruler of men), and the latter i. e., Vishnuvardhana, Narādhipati and Rājādhirāja Parameśvara or a ruler of men and the supreme king and the supreme lord. Yaśodharman is described as having plunged into the ranks of his enemy and humiliated them—the reference being evidently to his victory over the Huns, but Vishnuvardhana is lauded for exalting his lineage, for bringing into subjection mighty kings of the east and the north and also of the south (as is evident from the crevices of the Vindhya mountains being made resonant by his army). The particles पुनश्च and स एव in the third line quoted above mean "again or also" and "even he" respectively.

We cannot, however, agree with Mr. Fleet, when he says that though Vishnuvardhana had the titles of Rājādhirāja and Parameśvara, he appears to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of Yaśodharman. It is very difficult to ascertain why Mr. Fleet arrives at such a conclusion. The only thing which may have led him to think thus is the placing of Yaśodharman before Vishnuvardhana in the inscription, specially when this has been done by Daksha whose family is indebted for its present high position to the king Vishnuvardhana. But Yaśodharman is Daksha's immediate overlord; and Vishnuvardhana, who has made Yaśodharman his feudatory, is magnanimous enough not to object to the placing of his name below Yaśo-

dharman's specially on account of the valuable services rendered to his motherland by Yas'odharman in organising the allied army and in routing the Hunnish horde, though with the aid of allies, one of whom might have been Vishnuvardhana himself. But Yas'odharman after the victory probably lost his head and entertained ambitious designs and was therefore worsted in the battle-field by Vishnuvardhana.

The second inscription (of Yas'odharman and Vishnuvardhana) must be later than the first and its duplicate, (in which the achievements of only Yas'odharman are mentioned), because in the latter, Yas'odharman expressly says that his head had never bent itself before anyone except the God Sthānu whom he worshipped.

But who was Vishnuvardhana? Nothing is known of him except what is mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of 533-34 A.D.. Yas'odharman is known through three inscriptions and Vishnuvardhana through only one. We may suggest that he was the ancestor of the celebrated king of Thānesvar and Kanauj—Harshavardhana—who ruled Northern India as the paramount sovereign for more than forty years, from 606 to 647 A.D.. All the ancestors of Harshavardhana have not as yet been traced.

Bāna in his Harshacharita mentions Prabhākaravardhana as the father of Harsha and Pushpabhuti as his remote ancestor. The Sonpat seal mentions Prabhākaravardhana as the father, A'dityavardhana

as the grand-father and Rājyavardhana I (because Harsha had an elder brother of the name of Rājyavardhana II who reigned only for a few months) as the great-grand-father of Harshavardhana. Therefore there is nothing to preclude Vishnuvardhana's being the predecessor of Rājyavardhana I. If this is accepted, Vishnuvardhana, Rājyavardhana I, A'dityavardhana and Prabhākaravardhana may divide among themselves the seventythree years obtained by deducting five hundred and thirty three, the date of Mandasor inscription, from six hundred and six the date of Harsha's accession.

The surname 'vardhana' and the "aulikara" emblem mentioned in connexion with Vishnuvardhana in the inscription favour our hypothesis. 'Aulikara' according to Mr. Fleet means "the hot-rayed (Sun). It may be thus derived उल् (a Vedic-verb) = to burn + णिन्-औलि (burning); औलि + कृ + अ-औलि-कर (that which burns). We know that Harsha and his ancestors were worshippers of the Sun [1]. Vishnu is sometimes used to designate one of the twelve A'dityas (Suns), presiding over the month of Pausha. Most probably Vishnuvardhana flourished after Pushpabhuti and before Rājyavardhana I.

It has been said by H. Sang, the celebrated Chinese Traveller, who visited India during the reign of Harshavardhana, that it was Bālāditya, who defeated and imprisoned Mihirakula. This seems at first sight to be inconsistent with the

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1. E. H. I. p. 359

statement of Yas'odharman in the Mandasor inscription that it was he who crushed the Emperor of the Huns. But we have already pointed out that the disintegration of the Gupta empire began with the death of Skandagupta. He was succeeded by Kumāragupta II about 470 A.D., as appears from Dāmodarpur copperplates, Sārnath statues and Mandasor stone-inscription. He was succeeded by Budhagupta about 476 A.D., as is evident from Sārnath statues, and Eran stone-pillar inscription and coins, and died about 500 A.D.

The translation of the undated Bhitari Seal inscription [1] is given below.

"His (Chandragupta II's) son was Mahārājādhirāja the glorious Kumāragupta (I), who meditated on his feet (and) who was begotten on the Mahādevi Dhruvadevi. His son was the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Puragupta who meditated on his feet, and who was begotten on the Mahādevi Anantadevi. His son was the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Narasimhagupta, begotten on the Mahādevi Srivatsadevi. His son was the most devout worshipper of the Divine One—the Mahārājadhirāja, the glorious Kumāragupta, who meditated on his feet and who was begotten on the Mahādevi Srimati Devi".

We know from the stone inscriptions and one copperplate inscription that Skandagupta succeeded his father Kumaragupta I and reigned from 455 to about 470 A. D.. But in the Bhitari

1. Edited by Messrs. Smith and Hoernle in J. A. S. B., Vol. 58.

seal quoted above, Puragupta is mentioned as the successor of Kumāragupta (I), Narasimhagupta that of Puragupta, and Kumāragupta (III) that of Narasimhagupta. We may suggest that Puragupta was the elder brother of Skandagupta and the rightful heir, and that the name of his mother was Anantadevi. Skandagupta was a younger son of his father by another wife. When Kumāragupta died or more probably fell fighting (see also Chap. III) with the Pushyamitras, Anantadevi like Kumudvati, the wife of Kuśa in Raghuvamśam, might have become a Sati or burnt herself on a funeral pyre. Skandagupta, who was more competent, diplomatic and popular than Puragupta, contrived to ascend the throne of his father. Puragupta might have retired to his province Bihar, where he was was not apparently molested by his younger brother. There may be a reference to Skandagupta's diplomatic ability in Kālidāsa's description of Atithi in the seventeenth canto of his Raghuvams'am. In the Junagadh inscription of 456-57 A. D. occurs the following verse, which alludes to Skandagupta's selection as emperor by the Goddess of Prosperity or Royalty—

क्रमेण बुद्धया निपुणं प्रधार्य्य ध्यात्वा च कृत्स्नान् गुण-दोष-हेतून् ।
व्यपत्य सर्व्वान् मनुजेन्द्रपुत्रान् लक्ष्मीः स्वयं यं वरयांचकार ॥

Whom the Goddess of Fortune and Splendour of her own accord selected as her husband, having in succession (and) with judgment skilfully taken into consideration and thought over all the causes of virtues

1. C. I. 14.

and faults, (and) having discarded all [the other sons of kings (the King Kumāragupta I ?)]—(as not coming up to her standard). [1] Samudragupta was selected by his father Chandragupta I to succeed him. So was Chandragupta II by his father Samudragupta. Such a selection roused the envy of the other sons who took recourse to intrigues and other evil means for the attainment of their ends. This is probably hinted at in the following—

दुरितैरपि कर्तुमात्मसात् प्रयतन्ते नृपसूनवो हि यत् ।
तदुपस्थितमग्रहीदजः पितुराज्ञेति न भोगतृष्णया ॥

R.V.—VIII-2.

(What others seek by wrong to make their own,
He took submissive from his father's hand,
Not lusting after power.)—P. D. L. J.

(রাজত্ব লভিতে কত নৃপতিতনয়,
নানাবিধ পাপকার্য্য করে নাক ভয় ।
হেন রাজপদ অজ নিস্পৃহ অন্তরে,
লইলেন পিতৃ-আজ্ঞা পালনের তরে ॥)

Skandagupta, however, was not selected by his father to succeed him. But it was Lakshmi, or Kula-Lakshmi or RājaLakshmi who chose Skandagupta for his merits. This must have happened after his father's premature death, when he managed to make himself emperor, though Puragupta was the lawful heir. The poet, who compares Kumāragupta I with Kuśa (who dies in a war with the Daityas) and his son Skandagupta with Atithi, says, for justifying Skandagupta's succession that Atithi was selected

1. C. I.—14.

by his father as his heir-apparent in his father's life-time. (R.V.-XVII-30).

But after the death of Skandagupta in 470 A. D. when Kumāragupta II ascended the throne, Puragupta availing himself of the weakness of his nephew and the growing discontent in certain parts of the empire, declared himself as an independent sovereign, and struck coins, and assumed the name of Vikramāditya, as appears in his gold coins—the word Pura being on one side and S'rivikrama on the other—and reigned probably up to 485 A. D.. He was succeeded in about 485 A. D. by his son Narasimhagupta, who assumed the name of Bālāditya, as appears from the Bhitari seal, H. Sang's account, and coins—the words जयति नरसिंहगुप्तः being on one side and बालादित्यः on the reverse. He was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta III, who assumed the title of Kramāditya. The reason, why Kumāragupta III in the Bhitari seal omitted the names of Skandagupta, Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta, and mentioned his grandfather Puragupta as the successor of Kumāragupta I, Narasimhagupta as Puragupta's successor and himself as Narasimhagupta's successor, was that he wanted the people to regard his own branch and not that of Skandagupta as the legitimate line of the Gupta Emperors, specially when his rival Bhānugupta or his successor in the rival line disputed his claim, as the lawful sovereign of the Gupta territories. The genealogical tree of the Gupta emperors is given below—

After the death of Budhagupta in about 505 A.D., Narasimhagupta Bālāditya (485-527 A. D.) became the Mahārājādhirāja of the whole of the Gupta Empire except the portion conquered by the Huns. If appears (see below) that he paid tribute to the Hun emperor Mihirakula at least for some provinces of his empire.

When Yaśodharman at the head of his Central Indian allies routed the forces of Mihirakula about 525 A. D., Bālāditya taking advantage of the decisive

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1. 469 or 470. 2. See also p. 53, where '505' should be substituted for '525'.

defeat of his formidable enemy in this part of India, refused to pay tribute. Mihirakula with the remnant of his army wanted to punish Bālāditya for his insolence. But even now Bālāditya was unwilling to fight a pitched battle with Mihirakula. He laid an ambush for his barbarian enemy, imprisoned him and at the intercession of his mother released him. The whole story of Bālāditya's fight with Mihirakula, his (Mihirakula's) imprisonment, his treachery, his atrocities and his terrible death are told graphically by H. Sang.

"Bālāditya-rājā, King of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha and tenderly nourished his people. When he heard of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mihirakula (Ta-tso), he stictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. Then Mihirakula raised an army to punish his rebellion. Bālāditya-rājā, knowing his renown said to his ministers 'I hear that these thieves are coming, and I cannot fight with them (their troops); by the permission of my ministers I will conceal my poor person among the bushes of the morass'.

Having said this, he departed from his palace and wandered through the mountains and deserts. Being very much beloved in his kingdom, his followers amounted to many myriads, who fled with him and hid themselves in the islands of the sea.

Mihirakula-rājā, committing the army to his younger brother, himself embarked on the sea to attack Bālāditya. The King guarding the narrow passes whilst the light cavalry were out to provoke the

enemy to fight, sounded the golden drum, and his soldiers suddenly rose on every side, and took Mihirakula alive as captive and brought him into the presence (of Bālāditya).

The King Mihirakula being overcome with shame at his defeat, covered his face with his robe. Bālāditya sitting on his throne with his ministers round him, ordered one of them to tell the King to uncover himself, as he wished to speak with him.

Mihirakula answered, 'The subject and the master have changed places, that enemies should look on one another is useless; and what advantage is there in seeing my face during conversation ?'

Then Bālāditya-rājā, obeying his dear mother's command had pity on the prince bereft of his kingdom ; gave him in marriage to a young maiden and treated him with extreme courtesy. Then he assembled the troops he had left and added a guard to escort him from the island.

Mihirakula-rājā's brother having gone back, established himself in the kingdom. Mihirakula having lost his royal estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts and going northwards to Kās'mir, he sought there an asylum. The king of Kās'mir received him with honour, and moved with pity for his loss, gave him a small territory and a town to govern. After some years he stirred up the people of the town to rebellion, and killed the king of Kās'mir and placed himself on the throne. Profiting by this victory and the renown it got him, he went to the west, plotting against the kingdom of Gāndhāra. He

set some soldiers in ambush, and took and killed the king. He exterminated the royal family and the chief minister, overthrew the stupas, destroyed saṃghārāmas, altogether one thousand six hundred foundations.

Then he slew three ten myriads of people of the first rank by the side of the Sintu (Sindhu) river.........But before the year was out, he died. At the time of his death there was thunder and hail and a thick darkness, the earth shook and a mighty tempest raged. Then the holy saints said in pity 'For having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has fallen into the lowest hell, where he shall pass endless ages of revolution," [1] So at last Nemesis overtook the tyrant. We may say to him—

"You thought to grasp the world ; but you shall keep
Its curses only crowned upon your brow.
You that have fouled the purple, broke your vow,
And sowed the wind of death, the whirlwind shall you reap."[2]

To revert to Yaśodharman. Though he rendered signal services to his mother-land by his cardinal victory over Mihirakula, who had threatened Hindu civilisation with his tyrannical might, yet he was not the Vikramāditya, the enemy of the Śakas and the patron of Kālidāsa. He defeated the Huns and not the Śakas, and the Śakas and Huns have always been distinguished in Sanskrit Literature. Secondly

1. B. B. R. Vol. I, pp. 168-72.
2. E. Phillpotts.

there is nothing to prove, that he ever assumed the title of Vikramāditya. Modesty, at least could not dissuade him from describing himself as Vikramāditya, when he could say that the column he erected would endure 'to the time of the destruction of the world' and that it was erected 'to measure out the earth.........to enumerate on high the multitude of heavenly lights.........and to write upon the surface of the moon, the excellence of the virtues of Yas'odharman' [1].

If Kalidāsa really lived at the court of Yaśodharman, who would under the circumstances be identical with the Prince of Avanti, he could not eulogise the Emperor of Magadha in such eloquent terms, nor could he make him the most powerful and glorious suzerain of a thousand kings (R.V.—VI—22).

Chapter III.

Kalidasa and the Guptas.

'To them no bounds of Empire I assign,
Nor term of years to their immortal line'—
Virgil—Aeneid, Book I (Dryden).

We now pass on to the examination of the third hypothesis—that Kālidāsa was a contemporary of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, who was styled Vikramāditya and ruled from 380 to 415 A.D..

From the genealogical table given above (see p. 72) it will appear that Chandragupta II succeeded Samudragupta in 380 as Emperor of all the Gupta territories except Mālwa, Surāshtra or Kāthiāwār and Mathurā. He was the grandson of Chandragupta I (320-30 A.D.) the first independent sovereign of the Gupta dynasty and founder of the Gupta Era, which began according to Alberuniin 242 S'aka Era or 320 A.D.. The Vāyu Purāna, revised before the reign of Chandragupta II, most probably in the reign of Chandragupta I, describes the extent of the Gupta Empire thus—

अनुगङ्गाप्रयागं च साकेतं मगधांस्तथा ।

एतान् जनपदान् सर्व्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥

Prayāga, and the districts near it drained by the Ganges, and Magadhā or Bihar will be ruled by the Gupta Dynasty.

Samudragupta (330-380 A. D.), son of Chandragupta I and father of Chandragupta II, extended considerably the dominions of his father. Though the chiefs of Mālwa and Surāshtra and those of Mathurā acknowledged his suzerainty, he did not annex their territories.

We have described (See p. 6) the occupation (from 100 B.C, to 100 A.D.) by the Scythians of Taxila, Mathurā, and Surāshtra or Kathiawar. A section of the Scythians of Surāshtra, occupied several districts round Nāsik. Their Chiefs were called Satraps (a Persian word for provincial governors) or Kshatrapas. When they became independent, they called themselves Mahākshatrapas. Princes before their accession were also called Kshatrapas. Their law of succession was peculiar. After the death of a king, his eldest son (X) succeeded him, then the younger brother (Y) of X and so on; and then the sons of X, and so on. The Satraps of Taxila and Mathurā were allied to each other as those of Surāshtra and Nasik. The former were called northern Satraps, and those of Kāthiawar and the Deccan western Satraps. The Satraps of the Deccan were also known as Khakkarâtas or Khaharâtas, They were at first the real or nominal Viceroys of the Indo-Parthian and then of the Kushan Kings of Northern India. The Khaharâta dynasty of the Deccan were destroyed, and their dominions annexed in 119 A.D. by Râjâ Gautamiputra S'ri S'âtakarni of the Andhra dynasty, who had their capital at Paithan. The Kshatrapas of Surâshtra or Kâthiawar appear to have been the most powerful of all the

Scythian families. They occupied Kāthiawar in the first century A.D. . Later on they extended their dominions, which during the reign of Rudradâmana I (who flourished about 130 A.D.) covered Mâlwa, Guzerat, Kathiawar, Cutch, Sindh, Mewar. Marwar, Sirohi, Jhalawar, Kota, Pratapgarh, Kishangar, Dungarpur, Bansbera, Ajmer, and Northern Konkan. [1] Chashtana, the grandfather of Rudradâmana I, late in the first century after Christ, extended his dominions, and established his capital at Ujjayini, which remained as the metropolis of this family till its expulsion by Chandragupta II. "Ujjaini was one of the most ancient cities of India, the principal depot for the commerce between the ports of the west and the interior, famous as a seat of learning and civilization, and also notable as the Indian Greenwich from which longitudes were reckoned. The place which is still a considerable town with many relics of its past greatness, retains its ancient name and was for a long time the capital of Mahārājâ Scindia" [2]. The present observatory at Ujjaini was founded by Mahârâjâ Sawai Jaising II of Jaipur, who was born in 1686, and died in 1743. He succeeded to the Ambar territories in 1699. In 1719 he was appointed by Emperor Mahammad Shah governor of the province of Agra and soon after of Mâlwa. In 1734 he became again governor of Mâlwa. He was the founder of Jaipur. He built astronomical observatories at five of the principal cities of India.

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1. B P. R.—I—2 and E. H I.—p. 308.
2. E. H. I.—p. 308.

The Ujjaini observatory is situated to the southwest of the city in a secluded part of the quarter called Jaisingpura on the beautiful northern bend of the S'iprâ. The four instruments built of fine Jaipnr mar ble are the Samrât Yantra or Equinoctial Dial, the Narivalaya Yantra or Circular Sundial, the Digams'a Yantra or the Azimuth Instrument, and the Dakshinovritti Yantra or the Meridian Circle corresponding to the modern Transit Circle.

The Udayagiri cave-inscriptions [1] of Chandragupta II, one of which bears the year 82. of the Gupta Era, corresponding to 400 A.D. , establish the fact that the Paramabhattâraka and Mahârâjâdhirâja, the glorious Chandragupta (II) annexed Mālwa and put an end to the domination of the Western Satraps before 400 A.D. . Udayagiri is a well-known hill, with a small village of the same name on the eastern side of it, about two miles to the northwest of Bhilsa in Eastern Mâlwa. The second undated Udayagiri inscription, commemorates the construction of a cave-temple of the god S'ambhu by S'aba Virasena of Pataliputra, who was both a scholar and a poet and the minister of peace and war, and who came here accompanied by his master, who was seeking to conquer the whole world and who shone like the sun and was radiant with internal light [2].

The latest date of the Ujjaini Mahâkshatrapas is 310 S'aka or 388 A.D. . They were exterminated by Chandragupta II in that year or about that year, a conclusion which follows from the fact that the Ksha-

1. C. I.—nos. 3 and 6. 2. C. I.—no. 6.

trapas, who generally issued coins every year, did not do so after 310 S'aka [1].

Another inscription on a red sandstone was discovered at Mathurâ in 1853. It gives the genealogy of Chandragupta II and adds —
"परमभागवतेन महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तेन" or "By him, the most devout worshipper of the Divine one, the Mahârâjādhirâja, the glorious Chandragupta (II)" [2] From this inscription we can safely conclude that Chandragupta II put an end also to the rule of the Kushâna dynasty or of the Kshatrapa dynasty at Mathurâ at about the time he extirpated the Kshatrapas of Ujjaini. These Kshatrapas and Kushânas were foreigners and were never liked by the Hindus for their uncleanliness, their alien manners and customs, and lastly for their tyranny. Some of them had liberal religious views. Kanishka's coins bear the figures and names of Greek, Persian, Brâhmanic and Buddhistic deities [3].

Though most of them became Hinduised, yet the Brâhmans, to whom they did not accord the respect which they expected, regarded them as having been degraded from the position of Kshatriyas to that of S'udras [4]. So it was natural that Chandragupta II, who destroyed the rule of the Kshatrapas, would be acclaimed by the people as their liberator, and as the restorer of Brâhmanya Dharma, and would be given the appellations of S'akâri and Vikramâditya. We

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1. P. H. I.. 2. C. I.—4. 3. P. H.I..
4. Mahâbhârata—Anus'âsanika Parva, Chap. 33.

find in his coins 'श्रीविक्रमः,' 'विक्रमादित्य:' and 'अजित-विक्रमः'; and in the coins which depict him as the lion-slayer occurs 'सिंहविक्रमः'.

It has been proved that Chandragupta II was S'akāri or the Conqueror of the S'akas or the Western Kshatrapas, that he was styled Vikramâditya; and that as Ujjaini was the capital of the western Kshatrapas, he must have at least for some time stayed there for the organisation of his newly-conquered provinces. That his stay at Ujjaini was sufficiently long, is proved by the following statement of Sir. R. G. Bhāndārkar, which he bases on the Bombay Gazetteer, "Chandragupta II assumed the title of Vikramāditya which we find on his coins. He made Ujjaini his capital. For the Chieftains of the name of Guttas (Guptas) of Guttal in the Dhārwār district give themselves in their inscriptions the title of Ujjainipuravarādhis'vara, which like similar titles found in other places signifies that they belonged to a family, which once reigned in glory at Ujjaini. They trace their descent through Vikramāditya specified as King of Ujjaini, and are styled full moons of the ocean of nectar in the shape of the lineage of Chandragupta. Ujjaini was thus the capital of the Guptas from whom the Dharwar Guptas derived their descent........... In one place, however, instead of Ujjaini we have Pātala in the title, showing that Pātaliputra, the original capital, had not been forgotten by the Southern Guptas "[1].

The Rājatarangini describes Vikramāditya S'akāri

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1. P. H. I.

as a patron of learning. He is said to have made Mātrigupta, who was a poet and a dramatic critic, King of Kāshmir. Mātrigupta himself was the patron of a poet named Mentha or Bhartrimentha (the author of Hayagriva-vadha). These two were contemporaies of Chandragupta Vikramāditya. The date assigned by Cunningham to Mātrigupta is 430 A.D, , which is not far removed from that of the Gupta King as determined from his inscriptions. Mentha has been associated with Vikramāditya by the compilers of anthologies, who ascribe the following verse to their joint-authorship

लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि वर्षतीवाञ्जनं नभः ।
असत्पुरुषसेवेव दृष्टिर्निष्फलतां गता ॥

(Thick darkness covers the limbs. The sky rains collyrium. So sight has become fruitless like serving a wicked man.) But this verse is at least as old as the Bālacharita and Chārudatta of Bhāsa (300 A.D-), in both of which it occurs (see Introduction to Svapnavāsavadattā by T. G. S'āstri, p. XXIII).

There is nothing to identify Kālidāsa with either Mātrigupta or his ward Mentha except this statement in Rājatarangini. But this proves one thing, viz. , that Chandragupta II was a patron of letters. Samudragupta, Chandragupta's father, was a poet and musician. "In none of his books Kâlidâsa shows any familiarity with the scenes and surroundings of Kashmir"[2].

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1. P. H. I. . 2. J. B. O R. S., Vol. II, Part I.

find in his coins 'श्रीविक्रमः,' 'विक्रमादित्य:' and 'अजितविक्रमः'; and in the coins which depict him as the lion-slayer occurs 'सिंहविक्रमः'.

It has been proved that Chandragupta II was S'akāri or the Conqueror of the S'akas or the Western Kshatrapas, that he was styled Vikramâditya;and that as Ujjaini was the capital of the western Kshatrapas, he must have at least for some time stayed there for the organisation of his newly-conquered provinces. That his stay at Ujjaini was sufficiently long, is proved by the following statement of Sir. R. G. Bhāndārkar, which he bases on the Bombay Gazetteer, "Chandragupta II assumed the title of Vikramāditya which we find on his coins. He made Ujjaini his capital. For the Chieftains of the name of Guttas (Guptas) of Guttal in the Dhārwār district give themselves in their inscriptions the title of Ujjainipuravarādhis'vara, which like similar titles found in other places signifies that they belonged to a family, which once reigned in glory at Ujjaini. They trace their descent through Vikramāditya specified as King of Ujjaini, and are styled full moons of the ocean of nectar in the shape of the lineage of Chandragupta. Ujjaini was thus the capital of the Guptas from whom the Dharwar Guptas derived their descent........... In one place, however, instead of Ujjaini we have Pātala in the title, showing that Pātaliputra, the original capital, had not been forgotten by the Southern Guptas "[1].

The Rājatarangini describes Vikramāditya S'akāri

1. P. H. I.

Kshatrapas by Chandragupta II rendered necessary his stay at Ujjayini, which became practically his capital. Pâtaliputra was at first the only metropolis. Then as his kingdom became more extensive, Ayodhyâ, a central place, as Mr. Rapson says, was selected as the second capital. Kâlidâsa identifies Ayodhyâ with Saketa (R.V.-v-31). Later on after the conquest of Mâlwa about 390 A. D., as Sir R. G. Bhândārkar states, Ujjayini became the third capital. Mr. Rapson says that the latest dated coin of the Western Kshatrapas is of 388 A. D. [1]. This shows that Chandragupta conquered their territories with their capital Ujjayini after 388 A. D., and then struck his own coins.

Kālidāsa in the Svayamvara scene (bridegroom-selection by the Vidharva Princess Indumati, (Canto VI) of his Raghuvams´am puts in the mouth of Sunandâ, the female attendant of Indumati, a brilliant description of the King of Magadha who is most probably Chandragupta Vikramâditya thus—

असौ शरण्यः शरणोन्मुखानामगाधसत्वोमगधप्रतिष्ठः ।
राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः परन्तपोनाम यथार्थनामा ॥
कामं नृपाः सन्तु सहस्रशोऽन्ये, राजन्वतीमाहुरनेन भूमिम् ।
नक्षत्रताराग्रहसंकुलापि ज्योतिष्मती चंद्रमसैव रात्रिः ॥
क्रियाप्रबन्धादयमध्वराणामजस्रमाहूतसहस्रनेत्रः ।
शच्याश्चिरं पाण्डुकपोललम्बान्, मन्दारशून्यानलकांश्चकार ॥
अनेन चेदिच्छसि गृह्यमाणं, पाणिं वरेणेप्यन कुरु प्रवेशे।
प्रासादवातायनसंश्रितानां नेत्रोत्सवं पुष्पपुराङ्गनानाम् ॥

(R. V-VI-21 to 24)

1. Rapson's Catalogue of Andhra and western Kshatrapa coins p. CLI.

"Deep are his thoughts and strong his arm to save
In Magadha he rules, his people's joy,
Whose blazing wrath burns up his stubborn foes.
Alone he's Spouse of Earth, though thousand Kings
Usurp the style; as Soma rules the night
'Mid stars and planets, pale beside his throne,
So rules he Earth. By constant rites devout,
Where Indra still appears, he pales the cheek
Of Śachi, while her curls hang limply down
Undecked with Svarga's flowers—a mourning bride,
Her husband absent. Give, o give thy hand
To him in wedlock: charm bright, loving eyes
By festal entry to his noble town,
Whose dames expectant wait"—She Spake and
paused"

—P. D. L. J

(Give.........wait—The meaning is not clear. It should be translated thus—If it please thee to marry this Great King, thou wilt delight the eyes of the ladies of Pushpapura, who will be looking through the palace-windows, when thou wilt enter the city.)

পরন্তপ নাম এই মগধ ঈশ্বর,
অরিন্দম মহাবীর, প্রকৃতি গম্ভীর,
প্রজার রঞ্জন কার্য্যে রত নিরন্তর,
দীনের শরণ রাজা পরম সুধীর।
যদিও সহস্র রাজা আছেন ধরায়,
এই রাজা হতে ধরা হৈলা রাজন্বতী,
যদিও অগণ্য তারা শোভিত নিশায়,
কিন্তু নিশা পেয়ে শশী হন জ্যোতিষ্মতী।
বহু যজ্ঞ সাধি সদা মগধ-ঈশ্বর

নিজাগারে বাসবেরে রাখে নিরন্তর ;
ইন্দ্রের বিরহে স্বর্গে শচীর বদনে,
বিমুক্ত অলক তাই মন্দার-বিহনে।
ইচ্ছা যদি, দেও পাণি এই রাজবরে,
যাইবে কুসুমপুরে, রমণী-নিকরে,
মহোৎসবে মাতি, বসি হর্ম্ম্য-বাতায়নে,,
জুড়াবে নয়ন তোমা হেরি, বরাননে।—N. D. .

Chandragupta was truly a 'parantapa' or the oppressor of his foes. Did he not rescue the inhabitants of Mālwa from the tyranny of foreign domination? He was the 's'aranya' or refuge of those who wanted his protection. Was he not Kālidāsa's patron ? He was like 'Chandra' or the moon. Did he not bear the name of Chandragupta ? He was the King of Kings. So was Chandragupta. He was the performer of many sacrifices. Was not Chandragupta styled Paramabhāgabata or a very religious man—a devoted worshipper of Vishnu? Sahasranetra or the thousand-eyed Indra was always with him on account of his numerous sacrifices . Was not Chandragupta styled Devarāja [1]? As the Emperor of Magadha his capital was Pushpapura or Pātaliputra, though he had Ayodhyā as as his second and later on Ujjaini as his third capital. Has not the Viceroy of British India also three capitals—Dehli, Simla and Calcutta?

In Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription the word Pushpapura also occurs. Regarding this, Mr. Fleet says, "In connexion with Samudragupta, there

1. B. P. R.—II—274.

is mentioned in line 4, a City named Pushpapura, which is spoken of in such a way as to indicate apparently that it was his capital. Pushpapura, Pushpapuri and Kusumapura, all meaning the town or city, of flowers, were names of Pātaliputra, which is now represented by the modern Patna in Bihar on the Ganges ; the original City Pātaliputra itself, stood on the opposite south bank of the river, at the place where in ancient times, the S'on used to flow into it' [1] Hiuen Tsiang says that of the two names Pātaliputra and Kusumpura given to the City, the latter is the more ancient.

There is, however, as Mr. Fleet says, the fact that no inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty have been found anywhere in the neighbourhood of Pātaliputra till the time of Skandagupta. But we should remember that of the two inscriptions of Samudragupta, five of Chandragupta II and four of Kumaragupta I, all except the Allahabad pillar inscriptions of Samudragupta have been engraved by the orders of feudatory princes, ministers or others.

So far as Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription is concerned, it may be stated that Kausāmbi (18 miles from Allahabad on the Jumna) from which as General Cunningham says, the pillar was removed to Allahabad, was selected by Samudragupta, because it was a central place or more probably because it was difficult to find such a high (35 feet), round, artistically carved and polished monolith sandstone column as that which Aśoka had set up in the 3rd cen-

1. C. I.—I.

tury B. C.. It is also probable that the royal Champion of Brāhmanism wanted thus to eclipse the glory of the royal Champion of Buddhism. The sculptors of Samudragupta's time were not probably expert like their predecessors in the 3rd century B.C., for we find no pillar inscriptions in the reigns of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I except that on the As'oka pillar (already referred to) and those on pillars set up at Bilsad in the district of Eta during Kumāragupta's rule by Dhruvas'arman, which formed parts of the temple of the god Kārtikeya [1]. Emperor Jahangir also could not resist the temptation of engraving an inscription on the As'oka pillar.

Indumati, after Sunandā's eulogy on the Anga Prince 'turned off her eyes from him' and ordered Sunandā to proceed. She took her to the King of Anupa with his capital at Māhishmati, who was descended from the thousand-handed warrior Kārtyaviryya, the conqueror of Rāvana, but Indumati 'felt no liking for him'. Similarly she 'passed by' King Sushena of S'urasena or Mathurā, 'turned away' from Hemāngada, King of Kalinga, and 'did not heed the advice of Sunandā who asked her to select the King of Pāndya'. But when she left the King of Magadha, she did it after an artless bowing to him, and she came away from the King of Ujjayini and 'did not tie her heart to him'. It may, however, be said that at least Anga and S'urasena were included in the Gupta domi-

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C. I. no 10.

nions, but they may have been ruled by feudatory princes. The prince of Anga (Bhagalpur District with Champā or Bhagalpur as its capital) might be even one of the sons of Kumāragupta—either Skandagupta or Puragupta, who was acting as his father's viceroy. The verse 'कामं नृपाः... भूमिम्' (see p. 85) is significant.

As Kālidāsa refers first of all to Chandragupta Vikramāditya, his first patron, in his description of the Emperor of Magadha in the sixth Canto of Raghuvamś́am, so he alludes to his second patron Kumāragupta I, Chandragupta's son and successor, in the person of the King of Avanti who had his capital at Ujjaini—

ततः परं दुष्प्रसहं द्विषद्भिर्नृपं नियुक्ता प्रतिहारभूमौ।
निदर्शयामास विशेषदृश्यमिन्दुं नवोत्थानमिवेन्दुमत्यै ॥
अवन्तिनाथोऽयमुदग्रबाहुर्विशालवक्षास्तनुवृत्तमध्यः ।
आरोप्य चक्रभ्रममुष्णतेजास्त्वष्ट्रेव यत्नोल्लिखितो विभाति ॥
अस्य प्रयाणेषु समग्रशक्तेरग्रेसरैर्वाजिभिरुत्थितानि ।
कुर्वन्ति सामन्तशिखामणीनां, प्रभाप्ररोहास्तमयं रजांसि ॥
असौ महाकालनिकेतनस्य वसन्नदूरे किल चंद्रमौलेः ।
तमिस्रपक्षेऽपि सहप्रियाभिर्ज्योत्स्नावतो निर्विशति प्रदोषान् ॥
अनेन यूना सह पार्थिवेन, रम्भोरु ! कच्चिन्मनसो रुचिस्ते ।
सिप्रातरङ्गानिलकम्पितासु विहर्तुमुद्यानपरम्परासु ॥
तस्मिन्नभिद्योतितबंधुपद्मे, प्रतापसंशोषितशत्रुपङ्के ।
बबन्ध सा नोत्तमसौकुमार्य्या कुमुद्वती भानुमतीव भावम्॥

R.V.-VI-3I to 36.

[Then passing onward with her fair Princess,
The Lady praised another noble King,
Renowned for virtues, terrible to foes,
Fair as new-risen moon:—"Avanti's Lord
Behold, long-armed, broad-chested, thin of flank,
With doubled radiance shining, like the Sun
By Vis'vakarmā polished and refined.
When he in dauntless might goes forth to war,
The gems that flash from rivals' crowns are dimmed,
By dust his steed casts up, as evening clouds
Obscure the Sun. Hard by that mighty God,
Whose brow the Moon adorns, this noble King
Dwells in great Kāla ; so through all the months
He with his queens takes joy in lightsome nights.
O Slender-waisted Maid, wilt thou not yield,
And find, thy bliss in wandering through fair groves,
That wave 'neath S'ipra's breeze, with this great King?"

But not on him the peerless Maiden fixed
Her tender love, though lily-like he charmed
Friends, scorching foes as Sun dries up a marsh—
So close at dawn those flowers which love the Moon

—P. D. L. J.

(In great Kāla—a mistake; should be 'in Mahākāla', the name of the place, where is situated the temple of S'iva called Mahākāla or Chandis'vara. See Meghaduta).

আর এক নরপতি, নব ইন্দুসম,
সুদৃশ্য আকৃতি তাঁর, অরিকুলযম,
দেখাইল ইন্দুমতী রাজ-কন্যকারে,
প্রতিহারভূমিরক্ষী সুনন্দা সাদরে।

"মহাবাহু এ যুবক অবন্তী-ঈশ্বর
সুগোল, সুতনু কটি, বক্ষ সুবিশাল
বিশ্বকর্ম্মা শাণচক্রে শাণিত ভাস্কর-
সম তেজে, শোভিছেন এই মহীপাল।

রণভূমে যান্ যবে অবন্তী-রাজন্,
অগ্রগামী বাজি-রাজি দ্রুতপদভরে
সমুত্থিত ধূলারাশি আবরে গগন,
সামন্ত-নৃপতি-শিরোমণি-তেজ হরে।

মহাকাল নাম ধামে আছেন শঙ্কর,
জ্বলে যাঁর ভালে শশী, শীতল কিরণে
উজলি অদূরে পুরী, তাই নৃপবর
অসিত পক্ষেও জ্যোৎস্না ভুঞ্জে নারী সনে॥

ইচ্ছা তব হয় কি লো ইন্দুনিভাননে,
বিহরিতে প্রেমভরে এ যুবার সনে,
সিপ্রাতরঙ্গিণীতীরে উদ্যান-মালায়,
ঊর্ম্মি-স্পর্শ শীতবায়ু খেলিছে যথায়?"

কোমলাঙ্গী কুমুদিনী-সম ইন্দুমতী
সূর্য্যতেজা এ রাজায় বরিবে কেমনে,—
শোষে রিপুরূপ পঙ্ক যেই মহামতি,
প্রফুল্ল রাখেন পদ্মপ্রায় বন্ধুগণে। — N. . D.

The Poet here refers to the time when Chandragupta II is the great Emperor of Magadha, and his son Kumāragupta is his Viceroy at Ujjayini. The old Moon is shining over the whole Empire with its capital at Pushpapura, and the young King Kumāragupta like the newly-risen Moon is acting as his Viceroy at Ujjayini or Avanti. Kumāragupta is compared also to Aja who is broad-chested like the King of Avanti.

It is necessary to point out an incongruity in the Svayamvara scene. The poet in his desire to praise the line of his royal patrons forgets that he makes both the father and son court the same princess. Kālidāsa himself feels some constraint on this account. But if the grateful poet would not introduce the Sovereign of Magadha, his first Imperial Patron, to whom he owed so much, he would remain un-eulogised. He tries, however, to extricate himself from this delicate situation with some difficulty. He refers indirectly to Chandragupta's age in his being अगाधसत्व or grave and thoughtful, and in his having performed innumerable sacrifices. The poet uses simply the term पाणिग्रहण or marriage in connexion with the Emperor, and does not mention the enjoyment of each other's company in pleasure-gardens &c, nor refers to his youth or his handsome person, as he does in the cases of other Princes. Indumati also bows reverently o this worthy Emperor, who is fit to be her father-n-law, and leaves the place.

The poet, who has acted as the ambassador in the negotiation of this marriage, (see below) makes his

patron Kumāragupta, in the latter part of whose reign the poem is begun, conquer all the hostile princes with the prowess of his single arm, though we know that valour is not Kumāragupta's eminent characteristic.

We should remember that the names of both Vikramāditya of 58 B. C. and Yas´odharman of 528 A. D. are associated with Ujjaini or Avanti and not with Magadha. Kālidāsa's first mention of the King of Magadha and his styling him the greatest among a thousand kings support the hypothesis that the Poet's first patron was Chandragupta II (Vikramāditya), Emperor of Magadha and Ujjaini.

The King of Avanti in the verses quoted above is like the newly-risen moon. In some of his coins, Kumāragupta is described as गुप्तकुलामलचंद्र: or the spotless moon of the Gupta Dynasty. When Kālidâsa was presented to the Court of Chandragupta, the latter must have been an adult. Kālidāsa had known Kumāragupta even from his birth, which he likens to that of the War-God Kumara or Kārtikeya in his Kumāra-sambhavam. In this passage he describes the King of Avanti as a young man. The detailed description of his personal features shows the poet's familiarity with his patron. The King of Avanti is compared to the Sun . Kumāragupta was called Mahendrāditya i. e. the great Indra and the Sun. We shall see later on that he is also compared with Kus'a and his son Skandagupta with Atithi and that Kumāragupta's inauguration as heir-apparent by his father is compared with that of A´yus by Pururavas.

It may be necessary in connexion with the Svayamvara to point out that Kālidāsa names the capital of the Pândya King as "उरगाख्यस्य पुरस्य नाथः" i.e., the lord of Uraga-named city or Uragapur. In the time of the Mauryya king As'oka (272—232 B.C.) Uragapur (old Trichinopoly) was the capital of the Chola kingdom and Mâdurá[1] in the Tinnevelly district, the capital of Pāndya. In the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. the Cholas being attacked by the Pāndyas and Pallavas declined and the Pāndyas made Uragapur their second capital . We know from Sewell's works that the hostilities between the Cholas and Pândyas "became acute from the beginning of the third century and at the end of the struggle , the Cholas lost their kingdom and capital "...........It may be inferred that they lost them in the fourth century, " for in the beginning of the sixth century we find them three hundred miles away from their home ".[2]

Mr. Fleet says that Samudragupta is always compared with Yama, Kuvera, Varuna and Indra. The comparison of the King with यमकुबेरजलेश्वरवज्रिणः occurs in the ninth canto of the Raghuvams'am with reference to another great King of the Raghu dynasty, viz, Das'aratha, who like Samudragupta conquered 'the world', and performed the As'vamedha sacrifice. Samudragupta was selected as his successor in 330A.D. by his father Chandragupta I, whose

1. Mr. Sankara states that the Tamil name of Madura is Alavay (snake)—vide Mr. K. C. Chatterjee's—Date of Kalidasa, p. 121.

2. J. B. O. R. S.—Vol. II. Part I.

dominions consisted only of Sāketa, Magadha and the districts near Prayāga drained by the Ganges. As Samudragupta was selected for his fitness by his father Chandragupta I to succeed him in preference to others, Chandragupta II was chosen by Samudragupta as his successor probably for the same reason. Mr. Fleet says, 'A clear indication of some such custom is afforded by the epithet तत्परिगृहीत "accepted (as his favourite son or successor) by him (Samudragupta)" which is always applied to Chandragupta II in the genealogical passages, e.g., in the lines 9—10 of his Mathurā inscription no 4'[1]. So Raghu's kingdom was given to him by his father गुरुणादत्तं राज्यं (R.V.—IV—I), while he was alive (III—70). Such also might have been the case with Chandragupta II: Samudragupta might have made him King during his lifetime. Similarly Raghu selected his well-qualified son Aja to succeed him—

गुणवत्सुतरोपितश्रियः परिणामे हि दिलीपवंशजाः ।
पदवीं तरुवल्कवाससां प्रयताः संयमिनां प्रपेदिरे ॥

(R.V.—VIII—II)

(কেনা জানে সূর্য্যবংশ নৃপতি-নিকর,
গুণবান্ তনয়েরে দিয়ে রাজ্যধন,
বার্দ্ধক্যে সন্ন্যাসধর্ম্ম করেন গ্রহণ,
পরিয়া বল্কল, মুক্তি-সাধন-তৎপর ?) N. D.

(The kings of the family of Dilipa always in their old age practise self-control, and lead the lives of ascetics,

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1. C. I.—I.

wearing barks of trees, after leaving the goddess of empire to the care of their *meritorious* sons)

That Chandraguptal's selection of Samudragupta as his successor was wise, was abundantly justified by the young king who became one of the most illustrious conquerors and administrators among the sovereigns of India. Soon after his accession about 330 A. D. he set out on a career of conquest, at the conclusion of which he himself the 'prince of poets' — (यः) स्फुटबहुकविताकीर्त्तिराज्यं भुनक्ति —and a patron of poets, employed Harishena to compose his panegyric, which was inscribed on the Allahabad pillar, and which contained among other things the enumeration of his extensive conquests in nine stanzas of poetry and about thirty lines of prose, and showed a mastery of style rivalling that of Kālidāsa and Dandin [1].

Samudragupta's first attack was directed against the Rājās of the Gangetic plain—Rudradeva (of Bundelkhand), Matila (of Eastern Mālwa), Nāgadatta (of Rajputana), Chandravarman (of Rajputana) , Ganapatināga (of Padmāvati or Gwalior), Nāgasena (of the Upper Doab), Achyuta (of Rohilkhand), Nandin (of Northern Bengal), Balavarman (of Assam), and the King of the Kotah family and others , whom he 'uprooted' or, 'violently exterminated' and whose dominions he annexed .

Similarly Raghu after his accession and before his *digvijaya* took possession of the dominions of the princes who had risen against him —

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1. S. L.—p. 320.

सममेव समाक्रांतं द्वयं द्विरदगामिना ।
तेन सिंहासनं पित्र्यमखिलं चारिमण्डलम् ॥ (R.V.-IV-4).

(Raghu of majestic deportment simultaneously took possession of his father's throne and his enemy's dominions)

स गुप्तमूलप्रत्यन्तः शुद्धपार्ष्णिरयान्वितः ।
षड्विधं बलमादाय प्रतस्थे दिग्जिगीषया ॥

R.V-IV-26

(Then having made arrangements for defending his capital and the frontier, and for preventing an attack on his army from behind, Raghu at an auspicious moment set out at the head of his six kinds of troops to conquer the world.)

After having thoroughly subjugated the kings of A'ryyāvarta, or the country between the Himālaya and the Vindhya mountains and reduced to submission the kings of the forest regions (north of the Vindhyas), Samudragupta turned his arms against the kingdoms of the south—"a task which demanded uncommon boldness in design and masterly powers of organisation and execution."[1] He conquered and re-established in their dominions Mahendra of (south) Kośalā in the valley of the Mahānadi, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra (the forest regions of Orissa), Svāmidatta, lord of Mahendragiri and Kottura hillforts[2]

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1. E. H. I—p 300.

2. Evidently the engraver forgot to repeat the word Mahendra, a mistake, which is very natural. We should read—

पैष्टपुरकमहेंद्र-महेंद्रगिरिकौट्टूरकस्वामिदत्तः

in the district of Ganjam, Mahendra of Pishtapura (in Pithāpuram), Hastivarman of Vengi between the Godāvari and the Krishnā, the Pallava King Vishnugopa of Kānchi (Conjeveram), the Pallava king Ugrasena of Palakka (in Nellore), Mahārājā of Chera or Kerala (Kaurâlaka, probably a mistake, as Mr. Fleet says, for Kairalaka), Nilarāja of Avamukta, Dhananjaya of Kusthalapura, Kuvera of Devarāshtra (Mahārāshtra on the west coast, north of the Krishnâ) and Damana of Erandapalla (Khandes) and all the other kings of the region of the South.

Then Samudragupta subjugated and exacted tribute from the frontier kingdoms of Kartripura (Kumaon, Almorā, Gārwal and Kāngrā), Nepāl, Kāmrupa (Eastern Assam), Davāka (or Vanga lying between the Karatoyā on the west, the Meghnā on the east, the Khāsi hills on the north, and the Ganges on the south)[1] Samatata (the Delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra) and other countries on the borders, and also from the tribes of the Mālavas, A'rjunāyanas (Eastern Rajputna), Yaudheyas (who occupied both banks of the Sutlej), Madrakas (north of the Yaudheyas), A'bhiras (Eastern Malwa), Prārjunas (south of the Narmadā), Sanakānikas (north of the Narmadā), Kâkas (north of the Narmadā) Kharaparikas (east of the Prārjunas) and other tribes. He also formed alliances with Daivaputras (Kushānas still occupied Kabul and surrounding territories. Kushāna kings assumed the title of Devaputra), Shāhis (Kushāna kings who assumed this title), S'akas (independent or semi-independent Vice-

1. E. H. I.—302.

roys or Scythian Khatrapas of Taxilā, Mathurā and Ujjayini), Murundas (a Kushāna or Scythian tribe dwelling in Lampaka or Lamghan, north of the Kabul river)[1], and Shâhânushāhis and with the people of Simhala, who propitiated him with presents. Meghavarna (352-379 A.D.), the Buddhist King of Ceylon, sent valuable presents to Samudragupta, who gave him permission to build a monastery at Buddhagayâ. Shāhānushāhi or the title of the King of Kings, most probably refers to the Persian Emperor Shāpur the great, whose empire may have extended up to the borders of northwestern India. Mr. Sykes in his History of Persia says regarding the eastern campaigns of this King—" Few details are available concerning Shāpur's eastern campaigns which lasted from 350 to 357 A. D.........It appears that the great king was generally successful and strengthened his prestige and power by these campaigns, for when hostilities with Rome broke out the Persian army was supported by a force of the Huns, a tribe which was to inflict later on such untold misery upon the peoples of the West."

Kalidasâ does not enter into details in describing the conquests of Raghu, but by means of a few artistic touches he dwells graphically on the principal countries covered by his martial progress. Samudragupta's exploits captivated the imagination of the inhabitants of A'ryyâvarta and specially of Kālidāsa and his fellow-poets in the latter part of the fourth century, as the adventures of Drake, Frobisher, Haw-

1. A. G. I..

kins and Raleigh, and above all the defeat of the Armada stimulated the minds of Shakespeare and his brother-authors. Raghu was like Shakespeare's ideal King Henry V, the concentrated essence of all that was best in the kings of the Gupta Dynasty, whom Kālidāsa has described in the most beautiful and touching language in the introduction to his immortal Kāvya—

सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानामाफलोदयकर्मणाम् ।
आसमुद्रक्षितीशानामानाकरथवर्त्मनाम् ॥
यथाविधिहुताग्नीनां यथाकामार्चितार्थिनाम् ।
यथापराधदण्डानां यथाकालप्रबोधिनाम् ॥
त्यागाय सम्भृतार्थानां सत्याय मितभाषिणाम् ।
यशसे विजिगीषूणां प्रजायै गृहमेधिनाम् ॥
शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां यौवने विषयैषिणाम् ।
वार्द्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् ॥
रघूणामन्वयं वक्ष्ये तनुवाग्विभवोऽपि सन् ।
तद्गुणैः कर्णमागत्य चापलाय प्रणोदितः ॥

R. V.-I-5 to 9.

So Raghu's line I sing—pure from their birth,
Who till they won success worked on, and ruled
Earth to the sea: their car-track reached to
Heaven.

The altar-fire they tended, suppliants all
Most fully satisfied, ill deeds with stripes
They punished—nor were slothful in their rule,
Wealth they amassed to scatter ; sparing words,
Ne'er spoke they falsely ; fame in war they sought,

Not gain—and wedded love for noble seed.
Their children studied, gravely youth pursued
Its decent pleasures , and in ripe old age
Ascetic lived they—till through pious thought
At length they passed to win the Bliss Supreme.
Me, poor of words and foolish, has their fame,
That sounded through the worlds late, moved to write.

P. D. L. J.

আজন্ম-বিশুদ্ধ রঘুকুল-রাজগণ
শাসিতেন সসাগর অবনীমণ্ডল;
করিতেন বিমানেতে স্বর্গে বিচরণ,
করি কার্য্য লভিতেন সদা পূর্ণ ফল।

যথা কালে জাগি প্রজা করিলা পালন,
দণ্ডিলা উচিতরূপে অপরাধিগণে,
দীনের কামনা সদা করিলা পূরণ।
হোমেতে করিলা তৃপ্ত দীপ্ত হুতাশনে॥

দানহেতু করিতেন ধনের সঞ্চয়,
সদা তাঁরা মিতভাষী সত্যের কারণ,
করিলা যশের তরে দিগন্ত বিজয়
পুত্র-আশে করিতেন কলত্র গ্রহণ।

শৈশবে করিলা তাঁরা বিদ্যা উপার্জ্জন
ভুঞ্জিলা বিষয়সুখ যৌবনসময়,
বৃদ্ধকালে মুনিবৃত্তি করিয়া আশ্রয়,
চরমে পরমযোগে ত্যজিলা জীবন।

তাঁহাদের গুণরাশি শুনিনু যখন,
মোহিল মানস মম হইনু চপল,
এহেন বংশের কীর্ত্তি করিব বর্ণন
যদিও সামান্য মম বচন সম্বল। —N. D.

Raghu after thoroughly subjugating the kingdoms which lay near Kosálâ, and after adequately garrisoning the fortresses, which protected his territories, conquered the Kings of Sumha (Burdwan Division) and of southern and south-western Bengal, whom he later on restored to their possessions—

अनम्राणां समुद्धर्तुंस्तस्मात् सिन्धुरयादिव ।
आत्मा संरक्षितः सुह्मैर्वृत्तिमाश्रित्य वैतसीम् ॥
वङ्गानुत्खाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्यतान् ।
निचखान जयस्तम्भान् गङ्गास्रोतोऽन्तरेषु सः ॥
आपादपद्मप्रणताः कलमा इव ते रघुम् ।
फलैः संवर्द्धयामासुरुत्खातप्रतिरोपिताः ॥

R.V-IV-35 to 37.

(Chiefs who opposed he spoiled—the Suhma power
Submitting , won his grace , who bowed like reeds
Before a mountain - torrent : but in wrath
He smote the Bangal hosts , who proudly fought,
Vainglorious of their ships ; triumphal stones
On Ganga's isles he reared ; his stubborn foe
Subdued and then resettled , tribute brought,
And bowed like rice before his lotus-feet .)

-P . D . L , J .

বাঁচাইলা নিজপ্রাণ সুহ্মদেশ-পতি
প্রণমিয়া পরন্তপ রঘুর চরণে,
প্রচণ্ড নদীর বেগে বাঁচেরে যেমতি
বিনম্র বেতসলতা নমি কায়মনে।
পরাজিলা রঘুরাজ নিজ ভুজবলে
তরী-যোগে সমুন্নত বঙ্গরাজ-দলে,
নির্ম্মিলা বিজয়স্তম্ভ দ্বীপের উপরে
শতমুখে গঙ্গা যথা পশেন সাগরে।
উন্মূলিয়া শালিধান্য রোপিলে আবার
দেয় যথা শস্য, পরাজিত রাজগণ
প্রণমি রঘুরপদে, প্রসাদে তাঁহার
পুনঃ পেয়ে রাজ্য, তাঁরে দিলা বহুধন—N. D. .

Similarly Samudragupta was contented with exacting tribute from Davāka and Samatata . The mention of the cane-plant , of fleets in Bengal, where rivers abounded , of the small islands at the mouth of the Ganges , and of the transplantation of paddy, is a true and picturesque description of this part of India.

After passing through Utkala (from Balasore to Lohārdāgā and Sargujā) the people of which it appears, did not oppose him. Raghu crossed the Kapisā (the Kasâi) by means of a bridge formed by his war-elephants, and marched towards Kalinga. The capital of the King of Kalinga (from the Vaitarani to Vijagapatam)was protected by the fort situated on the Mahendragiri or Mahendra Hill (see p. 98) ,which Raghu stormed after a prolonged assault. This sea-board country

abounded with betel-plants and cocoanut palms from which wine was made. Raghu like Samudragupta first conquered and then restored the territories of the King of Mahendragiri—

गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी नृपः ।
श्रियं महेंद्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् ॥ R.V.—IV.—43.

(The king with lawful trumph took his fame,
But not his country from Mahendra's King,
And set him free)—P. D. L. J. .

[মুক্তি দিলা কলিঙ্গেরে দিলীপনন্দন,
স্বরাজ্য তাঁহারে রঘু দিলা পুনর্বার,
জয়লক্ষ্মী একমাত্র করিলা হরণ
বীরধর্ম্মে ; না হরিলা রাজত্ব তাঁহার]-N.D. .

The Kingdom of Ayodhyā was called Uttara-kos'alā (R . V . — V1—71) and the region between the Mahānadi and the Godāvari Dakshina Kos'alā, or Mahākos'alā.

Then Raghu took possession of the Malaya (the southern portion of the Western Ghats) and Dardura (the Nilgiri hills), in the valley of which grew in abundance cardamom plants (এলালতা) and sandal trees beset with serpents.

Samudragupta, it appears, did not invade the territories (districts of Dindigul and Tinnevely) of the Pāndya King in the extreme south ; but when he received presents even from the King of Ceylon it is natural to conclude that the Pāndya King also rendered homage to the formidable conqueror. The Pāndya king prostrated himself at the

feet of Raghu and presented to him valuable pearls found, where the Tāmraparni (which falls into the gulf of Manaar) joins the great ocean. The Pāndya king is described as having a dark skin. (R.V.—VI-65).

Then Raghu crossed the Kāveri and the Sahya mountains or the northern portion of the Western Ghats, and came to Kerala (Cherâ, Cânârâ, Cochin, and Travancore), which he conquered easily, and the women of which fled being stricken with terror—

भयोत्सृष्टविभूषाणां तेन केरलयोषिताम् ।
अलकेषु चमूरेणुश्चूर्णप्रतिनिधीकृतः ॥

(R.V.—IV-54)

'Kerala damsels leaving their adornments, with their bodies being covered, instead of kumkuma powder, with the dust of the advancing army, fled in terror).

[রাজসৈন্য-ভয়েতে কেরল নারীগণ,
বেশভূষা ছাড়ি ব্যস্তে করে পলায়ন,
পাছে ধায় সেনাদল, ধূলারাশি হায়
লাগিছে তাদের কেশে কুঙ্কুমের প্রায় ।]—N.D. .

Then he marched northwards, and reached the mouth of the Muralā[1] luxuriant with Ketaki and Punnāga or Nāgakeśara flowers and Rājatāli and date trees, took the city of Trikuta[2], and made the three

1. Probably the river Mulâmutha which rises near Poona and is a tributary of the Bhimâ (Mr. N. L. Dey in the Indian Antiquary).

2. M. M. H. P. Śâstri identifies it with Mahâdeva hills, and Mr. N. L. Dey with Junnar. It is the Tagara of Ptolemy in the Nizam's dominions.

peaks of the town serve the purpose of his pillars of victory, and exacted tribute from the kings of Aparānta [1].

Raghu erected a pillar as a memorial of victory in Bengal and again on Trikuta; so did Samudragupta at Allahadad or Kaus'āmbi.

Then he proceeded by the land-route to conquer the Persians, who were called Yavanas. He terrified by his onrush the wives of the long-bearded Yavanas, and then engaged in a fierce fight with their cavalry—

पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना ।
इन्द्रियाख्यानिव रिपूंस्तत्वज्ञानेन संयमी ॥
यवनीमुखपद्मानां सेहे मधुमदं न सः ।
बालातपमिवाब्जानामकालजलदोदयः ॥
संग्रामस्तुमुलस्तस्य पाश्चात्यैरश्वसाधनैः ।
शार्ङ्गकूजितविज्ञेयप्रतियोधे रजस्यभूत् ॥
भल्लापवर्जितैस्तेषां शिरोभिः श्मश्रुलैर्महीम् ।
तस्तार सरधाव्याप्तैः स क्षौद्रपटलैरिव ।
अपनीतशिरस्त्राणाः शेषास्तं शरणं ययुः ।
प्रणिपातप्रतीकारः संरम्भो हि महात्मनाम् ॥

[..............'Gainst the Persians next
He through the desert marched, as holy men
By sacred learning smite their inbred foes—
The senses. Scarcely could the King withstand
Soft wiles of Yavana women, lotus-faced,
That sought his love,—as Autumn-clouds must fade,
Untimely-risen, when the Sun new-born

1. Konkan (from Bombay to Goa) and Malabar..

Beams bright above the lotus. Fiercest war
He with the Westerns waged, in horses strong,
While twang of bows alone revealed their place.
The bearded heads his warriors had cut off
Now strewed the plain, as bees swarm thickly round
The honey-comb: the remnant bared their heads
And claimed his mercy : rage in hero-souls
Submission will appease,]—P. D. L. J. .

পারস্যের রাজকুলে করিবারে জয়,
স্থলপথে তথা রঘু করিলা গমন ;
তত্ত্বজ্ঞান পথে যথা চলে যোগিজন
করিতে ইন্দ্রিয়রূপ রিপুর বিজয়।

যবনীর মুখপদ্ম মদরাগ ছটা
ঘুচাইলা রঘুরাজ যবনে বিনাশি—
অকালে ঢাকিলে সূর্য্যে জলদের ঘটা
ফোটে কি বালার্ক রাগে কমলের হাসি ?

অশ্বপৃষ্ঠে মহাবল যবন-নিকর
যুঝিলা রঘুর সহ আঁধারি অম্বর,
উঠিল ধূলার রাশি, না চলে নয়ন,
শিঞ্জারবে শত্রু পক্ষে চিনে সেনাগণ॥

শত শত শ্মশ্রু-যুক্ত যবনের শির
ভল্লেতে কাটিয়া রঘু পাড়িলা ধরায়,
নীল অলি পরিবৃত মধুচক্র প্রায়
শোভে তাহা রণস্থলে দেখিতে রুচির।

অবশেষে ম্লেচ্ছগণ রঘুর চরণে
নামাইয়া শিরস্ত্রাণ লইলা শরণ ;
বিনা প্রণিপাতে কিংবা নম্রতাচরণে
মহৎ জনের কোপ না হয় বারণ। —N. D..

The term 'yavana' is derived from 'Ionian' and was at first applied only to the Greeks. Tin was called yavaneshtha and pepper yavanapriya, as these were imported by the Greeks from India. Later on the name 'yavana' was applied to the political successors of the Greeks in the empire of Western India—the Scythians, the Persians and the Arabs.[1] The Brahmânda Purāna (49th chap—16) mentions the Yavanas as dwelling on the western and the Kirâtas on the eastern boundaries of India.

We have pointed out on (p. 100) that the Shāhānushahi mentioned in connexion with Samudragupta refers to the Persian Emperor Shapur the Great. Therefore the Yavanas referred to by the Poet were his followers on the western frontier of India.

Then Raghu proceeded along the Sindhu (Indus) towards the north, where the vine grew, and his soldiers drowned the fatigue of the battle in the wine of grapes, and where the necks of his war-horses were reddened with saffron-dust.

There (on the banks of the Sindhu) Raghu encountered the Huns whom he worsted in an engagement, and thus became the cause of the sorrow of Hun women, whose husbands were slain in the fight,

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1. Weber's Indian Literature p. 220 [note].

and who made their cheeks red by striking them with their hands—

तत्रहूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम्।
कपोलपाटलादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम्॥

(His mighty acts,
Wrought on their husbands, Huna dames proclaimed—
Recorded on their cheeks in angry scars).—P.D.L.J. .

(হূণ-দেশ বীর-গণে বধি রণস্থলে
লভিলা অতুল যশ কোশল-রাজন্,
পতিহীনা হূণাঙ্গনা-বদন-মণ্ডলে
শোক-জাত রক্ত-আভা করি আরোপণ।)—N.D. .

Here is a reference to Skandagupta's repulse of the Huns. Kumāragupta I succeeded Chandragupta II about 415 and died about 455. He was followed in about 455 by his son Skandagupta, surnamed Kramāditya and also Vikramāditya. In the latter part of his reign Kumāragupta had to encounter a host of troubles in the shape of the aggression of the Pushyamitras, and the Huns, whose atrocities instilled terror even into the hearts of the bravest. The first acts of Skandagupta's reign, as noted in the undated inscription at Bhitari in the district of the Gājipur on a stone-pillar of the temple of the god Śārngin (Vishnu), were his decisive defeat of the Pushyamitras and his arduous conflict with the Huns (see also p. 50). This happened according to Mr. Vincent Smith about 455 A. D.—

विचलितकुललक्ष्मीस्तम्भनायोद्यतेन, क्षितितलशयनीये येन नीता त्रियामा।
समुदितवलकोषान पुष्यमित्रांश्चजित्वा, क्षितिपचरणपीठे स्थापितोवामपादः॥

By whom, when he prepared himself to restore the fallen fortunes of (his) family, a (whole) night was spent on a couch that was the bare earth ; and then having conquered the Pushyamitras, who had developed great power and wealth, he placed (his) left foot which was the King (of that tribe himself)."[1]

हूणैर्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कम्पिता ।
भीमावर्त्तकरस्य.................. ॥

By whose two arms the earth was shaken, when he, the creator (of a disturbance like that) of a whirlpool, joined in close conflict with the Huns."[2]

Mr. K B. Pāthaka in his introduction to Meghaduta (p. VIII) refers to another reading namely वङ्क्षु (Vankshu), which may be substituted for सिन्धु (Sindhu) (see p. 109) Vankshu, he says, is the same as 'Vakshu' or 'Oxus'. He adds that as the Huns established their empire on the Oxus basin about 450 A. D., and invaded India in 455, when they were defeated by Skandagupta, the Raghuvams'a must have been composed between 450 and 455 A. D. .

We can neither see any reason why the reading 'Vankshu' should be preferred to 'Sindhu', nor why the adoption of the reading Vankshu and identifying it with 'Vakshu' or 'Oxus' will drive us to the conclusion that the poem was composed between 450 and 455 A. D., and not to the conclusion that it was finished after Skandagupta's most arduous and famous repulse on the Indus of the terrible barbarian

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1 and 2—C. I. 13.

horde, the main body of which occupied the Oxus basin even as late as 518 A.D., as was attested by the Chinese traveller Sungyun.

The passage about the Huns must have been inserted by the poet in the fourth canto, when he resumed the composition of Raghuvams'a after Skandagupta's repulse of the Huns.

Let us now resume after this digression our narrative of the conquests of Raghu, which strikingly resemble those of Samudragupta, along the Himalayas, towards the east. The Kāmboja Kings were unāble to withstand his valour—

काम्बोजाः समरे सोढुं तस्य वीर्यमनीश्वराः ।
गजालानपरिक्लिष्टैरक्षोटैः सार्धमानताः ॥
तेषां सदश्वभूयिष्ठास्तुङ्गा द्रविणराशयः ।
उपदा विविशुः शश्वन्नोत्सेकाः कोशलेश्वरम् ॥

R. V.—IV-69 & 70.

Akshota trees,
Bruised by the chains that bound his elephants
Bent low ; bowed too Kāmbojas, fain to yield,
Before his prowess : heaps of gold, fine steeds
In tribute offering, which the mighty King
Accepted graciously, and spared[1] their pride.

P. D. L. J..

(না পারি রঘুর তেজ সহিতে সমরে,
নমে তাঁর পদাম্বুজে কাম্বোজের পতি,
নমিল অক্ষোট বৃক্ষ তাহার সংহতি
যাহে বেঁধেছিলা রঘু মাতঙ্গ-নিকরে ।

1. It should be—'Yet pride never entered his soul'.

লভিলা কাম্বোজে জিনি কোশল-ঈশ্বর
উপহার স্বর্ণরাশি, চারু অশ্ব-দল,
অপার ঐশ্বর্য্য তাঁর হল করতল,
গরব-রহিত তবু তাঁহার অন্তর।)—N.D.

Where was the country of the Kāmbojas? It must have been the tract between the Sindhu or Indus, where saffron and grapes were produced and the Himālayas, as after exacting tribute from the Kāmbojas in the shape of horses and gold, Raghu with his army ascended the Himālayas, the abode of the father of the goddess Gauri. In this country grew Akshota (Bengali Ákhrota). Probably it extended from Attock to Sialkot near Gāndhāra (the country between Jalalabad and the Indus)[1].

Samudragupta does not mention the Kāmbojas. But they are probably included in 'other tribes' than the Madrakas, and dwelt north of them.

Then there follows a beautiful description of the Himālayas.

ततो गौरीगुरुं शैलमारुरोहाश्वसाधनः ।
वर्धयन्निव तत्कुटान् उद्धूतैर्धातुरेणुभिः ॥
शशंश तुल्यसत्वाणां सैन्यघोषेऽप्यसंभ्रमम् ।
गुहाशयानां सिंहानां परिवृत्तयावलोकितम् ॥
भूर्जेषु मर्मरीभूताः कीचकध्वनिहेतवः ।
गङ्गाशीकरिणो मार्गे मरुतस्तं सिषेविरे ॥

R. V.—IV-71, 72 & 73.

1. A. G. I.

(Famed for his horses, next Himālaya
He mounted, where the clouds of dust they raised
From trampled rocks exalted more the peaks.
Couched in their caves, great lions—brave as he—
Gazed on him undisturbed, nor feared the noise
His warriors made; while murmuring winds
that coursed
Through Bhurja trees or rustled in the canes[1]
Moist from the waves of Gangā, cherished him
As on he swept to conquest).

(সসৈন্যে অশ্বের পৃষ্ঠে দিলীপনন্দন
আরোহিলা হিমালয়ে ; হয়-পদ-ভরে
সমুত্থিত ধাতু-রেণু উঠিয়া অম্বরে,
যেন ঊর্দ্ধে তুঙ্গশৃঙ্গ করিল বর্দ্ধন।

সেনা-সম পরাক্রম কেশরী দুর্ব্বার
রয়েছে শয়নে হিম-গিরির গুহায়,
সেনা-কোলাহলে কিছু শঙ্কা নাহি পায়,
গ্রীবা-ভঙ্গে সৈন্য পানে চাহে একবার।

ভাগীরথী-জল-কণা মাখিয়া শরীরে
বহিল পবন যেন সেবি রঘুবীরে,
স্বনিছে ভূর্জ্জের পত্র মৃদু মর-মরে
বাজিছে কীচক-বেণু সমীরণ-ভরে।)—N.D.

Then Raghu with his troops after resting for sometime on stones, under the shade of trees, fragrant with the musk of the deer that had lain there, defeated the Utsavasamketas and accepted presents from them. The Utsavasamketas were a hill-tribe

1. Bamboos.

consisting of seven clans or tribal republics. They are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata—

गणान् उत्सवसंकेतान् अजयत् सप्त पाण्डवः।

(The Pāndava, Arjuna, conquered the Seven Ganas of the Utsavasamketas in the course of his dig-vijaya.[1])

Then Raghu crossed the Brahmaputra, and reached the kingdom of Kāmarupa, also called Prāgjyotisha, the country of black aguru trees and elephants, the king of which being afraid of his prowess and of his formidable army, readily submitted to him, and gave him fiery elephants as presents and worshipped his feet. So the monarch of the same country fully carried out the imperious commands of, gave all kinds of taxes to, and performed obeisance to Samudragupta[2].

चकम्पे तीर्णलौहित्ये तस्मिन् प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरः।
तद्गजालनतां प्राप्तैः सह कालागुरुद्रुमैः ॥
न प्रसेहे स रुद्धार्कमधारावर्षदुर्दिनम।
रथवर्त्मरजोऽप्यस्य कुत एव पताकिनीम् ॥
तमीशः कामरूपाणां अत्याखण्डलविक्रमम्।
भेजे भिन्नकटैर्नागैरन्यान् उपरुरोध यैः ॥
कामरूपेश्वरस्तस्य हेमपीठाधिदेवताम्।
रत्नपुष्पोपहारेण च्छायामानर्च्च पादयोः ॥

R. V.—IV-81 to 84.

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1. Mahabhàrata, Sabhàparva, Chap. 27th. .
2. C. I.—1.

(He traversed next
Lauhitya, and Prāgjyotish quaked , as shook
Black aloes where he bound his elephants ,
Scarce could he bear with Raghu's chariot's dust,
Which veiled the Sun and darkened all the sky,
Yet brought no rain , how then should he with-
stand
The armed host ? Him Kāmarupa's King
Served with his elephants, those mighty beasts
Love-maddened, which he used to smite his foes;
And gems for flowers he offered at those feet,
Which —laid on golden foot-stools—shone divine).

P. D. L. J.

(পার হইলেন রঘু লৌহিত্যা তটিনী,
ভয়েতে কাঁপিল প্রাগ্‌জ্যোতিষ-ঈশ্বর,
কাঁপিল তেমতি কৃষ্ণাগুরু তরু-শ্রেণী,
যাহে বেঁধেছিলা রঘু কুঞ্জর-নিকর।

সেনাপদভরে ধূলা ঢাকিল তপন
মেঘমালা প্রায়, বিনা বারি-বরিষণ,
দেখি ভয়ে ত্রস্ত সেই দেশের ঈশ্বর,
কি সাধ্য সেনার সহ করিতে সমর

কামরূপ-অধীশ্বর মত্ত করি-চয়ে
আক্রমেন অন্য রাজে তুমুল সমরে,
হেন গজ-দানে আজি পূজিলা সভয়ে
বাসব-বিজয়ী বীর রঘুরাজেশ্বরে।

বসিলেন রঘুবীর হরষিত মনে
সুবর্ণ আসনোপরি ; চরণে তাঁহার

বহুরত্ন পুষ্পরূপে দিয়া উপহার

পূজে কামরূপ-রাজ পরম যতনে।)—N. D. .

Raghu like Samudragupta after his conquest of the eastern, southern, western and northern countries returned to his capital, Raghu to perform his Vis'vajit (world-conquest) sacrifice, and Samudragupta to celebrate his conquests by the revival of As'vamedha, a sacrifice which had gone out of use for centuries on account of foreign domination, the absence of powerful Hindu sovereigns and the rise of Buddhism.

M.M. H.P. S'āstri refers to an incident of Skandagupta's reign from which he tries to deduce the date of the Poet—

"In the Kumārasambhava.........Kālidāsa describes the condition of lotuses in a reservoir of water, when its embankment fails. In Bengal tanks are made by excavation,but in countries where there are many plateaux, vast reservoirs of water are often formed by throwing up an embankment on one side, when the other sides are formed by highlands. There is a historical reservoir of this kind at Girnar. The embankment was thrown up by a nephew of Chandragupta Mauryya in the 4th century B· C. . That embankment gave way in about 150 A. D. , and it was repaired by the S'aka King Rudradāmana, but it gave way again in 475 A. D., and was repaired by an officer of the Gupta Emperor. The affair made a deep impression on the people of Gujrat and

Mālwā, and Kālidāsa describes the same in a simile in the Kumārasambhavam. It was most likely a recent event when Kālidāsa described it."[1] The writer probably refers to the following verse of the Kumārasambhavam ,—

क्व नु मां त्वदधीनजीवितां, विनिकीर्य क्षणभिन्नसौहृदः ।
नलिनीं क्षतसेतुबन्धनो, जलसंघात इवासि विद्रुतः ॥ (IV—6).

(As a Mass of Water rushes through the broken embankment leaving its Beloved Lotus alone, so where have you hastily departed breaking the ties of love in a moment and leaving alone one whose life depends on yours ?—So laments Rati for her dead husband).

(তবাধীন মম প্রাণ, কোথা গেলে রেখে প্রাণ,
তব স্নেহশূন্য করি ক্ষণে ?
সেতুভঙ্গে বহে নীর, হয় যথা নলিনীর,
প্রাণাকুল জীবন-বিহনে ॥ (R. L. B.)

As there are numerous references to tanks full of lotuses in the works (see also chaper VIII) of thePoet—still there is a tank full of lotuses near the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjayini—and as the breaking of the embankment in the rainy reason was a common occurrence in his time, there is no reason to believe that the poet refers to any particular incident. Moreover the repair of the dam of the Sudarśana lake at Girnār or Girinagar (Junagadh in Kāthiāwār) was effected in 456—57 A. D. (Gupta Era 137) by Chakrapālita, son of Parnadatta, who

1. J. B. O. R. S.

was appointed by Skandagupta to govern Surāshtra or the Kathiawar country.[1]

As there are some important points of resemblance between Raghu and Samudragupta, between the king of Magadha and Chandragupta II, between Aja and Kumâragupta I, so there is again some agreement between Kus'a, the son of Rāma and Kumāragupta I, and between Atithi, the son of Kus'a, and Skandagupta, and between the installation of Kumāragupta as Yuvarāja and that of A'yus, son of Pururavas in Vikramorvas'i. In this connexion we should bear in mind that Raghu is the poet's ideal king, and under the portraiture of Raghu, he really depicts Chandragupta (II) Vikramāditya, his first patron. He ascribes to him not only the military achievements of Samudragupta, but also those which are Chandragupta's own, *e.g.*, the conquest of Mālwā and Surāshtra and the annihilation of the Scythian supremacy,[2] for which he earned the name of Parantapa (enemy-chastiser, R.V.—V1—21). Raghu proceeds by the land-route from Aparânta (say Poona) to the country of the Yavanas (say Beluchistan and N.W. Frontier Province). The intermediate provinces Mâlwa, Surâshtra &c. are regarded as being already in the dominions of Raghu. As the Raghu vams'a was finished in the reign of Skandagupta we find the Poet's attributing to his royal favourite

1. C. I. —14.

2. He put an end to the domination in India of the Scythians or S'akas (called Sakai both by Herodotus and Megasthenes) ; see M. A. I. p. 29.

even Skandagupta's repulse of the Huns. The Poet also compares Samudragupta, the first great Gupta Emperor and reviver of As'vamedha sacrifice with Dilipa, the first great emperor of the dynasty (in which Raghu and Rāmachandra are born) and the performer of ninety-nine As'vamedhas.

The first two cantos of Raghuvams'am are devoted by the Poet to the description of the virtues and meritorious acts of Dilipa or Samudragupta. Dilipa is described as the first .great sovereign of the solar dynasty. His chest is broad and full, his shoulders are like those of a bull, his height like that of a s'āla tree, and his arms long, and he is noted for his strength and valour. His intellect is as powerful, as his body is muscular and strong. He is endowed also with softer graces. It is for the welfare of his subjects alone that he collects taxes· He is the master of various branches of learning. (Samudragupta was also a poet and a musician). No other prince after Dilipa is able to rival him in the art of government. The sea-beach forms the ramparts of his kingdom, and the high seas its moats, and he rules his vast dominions like a single city. (R.V. 1 - 30). He has performed ninetynine As'vamedhas, and wants to celebrate the hundreth and be like Indra. So Samudragupta is described in several inscriptions of the Gupta period— 'who had no antagonist in the world, whose fame was tasted by the waters (of the four oceans), who was the restorer of the As'vamedha sacrifice that had been long in abeyance'. He struck gold medals bearing a suitable legend and the figure of the doomed horse.

There is a stone-figure of such a horse in the Lucknow Museum. According to Pandit Rāmāvatāra S'armā, Samudragupta married Dattādevi, who was the daughter of a Magadha Prince. So does Dilipa marry Sudakshinā, who is a Magadha Princess. The Pandit further says that 'dattā' and 'dakshinā' mean almost the same thing. [1]

There cannot be any comparison between Rāmachandra, the incarnation of Vishnu, and any Gupta Sovereign, nor is the Poet able to compare any Gupta Sovereign with Das'aratha, in the description of whose reign, he has to follow Vālmiki faithfully. But there are some points of resemblance between Aja (Raghu's son) and Kumāraguptā (Chandragupta II's son). There is probably a reference to Kumāragupta's viceroyalty at Ujjaini during his father's life-time in the songs of Aja's heralds (see chap. VI) which appear to be as unnecessary as the introduction of A'yus and his accession (in the Vikramorvas'i), and also in the verse—

असौ कुमारस्तमनुजातस्त्रिविष्टपस्येव पतिं जयन्तः ।
गुर्वीं धुरं यो भुवनस्य पित्रा धुर्येण दम्यः सदृशं बिभर्त्ति ॥

R.V.—VI-78.

(From his kingly loins
Prince Aja sprang, as fair Jayanta sprang
From Indra. Now this Prince bears half the weight
Of that high charge his sire erst bore alone,
Unwearied, as a mighty bull-calf bears
One half the yoke— (P.D.L.J.)

1, Quoted by Pandit Dvivedi in his Kalidâsâ.

(তাঁহার তনুজ এই অজ বীরবর,
ইন্দ্রের জয়ন্তে জিনি রূপে মনোহর ;
পিতৃসহ সমভাবে বহেন কুমার
এ নব বয়সে গুরু পৃথিবীর ভার। —N. D.)

Aja resembles his father Raghu in many important respects (R.V.— V—37). Chandragupta is the old Moon and Kumāragupta the new Moon (R.V.—VI-22 and VI-31). He is 'द्विषद्भिःदुष्प्रसहः' formidable to his enemy, as his father is 'परन्तप.' (foe-repressor) — R.V. VI-31 and 21. The fact is that the Poet does not miss any opportunity of extolling his royal patrons.

Kumāragupta in the latter part of his reign suffered much on account of the aggression of the Pushyamitras and the Huns. Kuśa being requested by Indra went to wage war with a demon. He fell fighting with his enemy[1]. Kumāragupta might have lost his life in either of the battles he fought.

There is a reference in Kālidāsa to Kuśa's transferring his capital from Kusāvati (somewhere near Ujjayini) to Ayodhyā after entrusting the administration of Kusāvati to his Brāhman ministers.[2] After marching over the Vindhyas and crossing the Ganges Kuśa came to Ayodhyā on the banks of the Sarayu. We see that Skandagupta's first inscription was found in a column at Bhitari in Gājipura. Kumāragupta in the latter part of his reign, when his capital was threatened by the Pushyamitras and the Huns, might have transferred his capital from Ujjayini to Ayodhyā. Kālidāsa justifies Kuśa's leaving Kusāvati and

1. R. V.—XVII—5. 2. R. V.—XVI—25.

coming to Ayodhyā by saying that he does so in accordance with the request of the presiding deity (अधिदेवता) of Ayodhyâ. Skandagupta, we know from the Junagadh inscription, appointed Parnadatta as the governor of the province of Surashtra or more properly the tract which belonged to the Western Kshatrapas.

Aja marries a Vidarbha princess. Probably the reference here is to Kumâragupta's marrying the daughter of a Kadamba King. The Andhras ruled the Deccan for four centuries and a half up to about 225 A.D. . The Kadambas may have succeeded the Andhras and ruled the Deccan till 545 A.D..[1] Kâlidāsa may have acted as a Ghataka or marriage-ambassador in negotiating this marriage. Rev. H. Heras S.J., M.A., writes [2] — "In the Sanskrit work Sringāraprakāśikâ, the poet Bhoja relates that the great poet Kâlidâsa was sent as an ambassador of king Vikramāditya to a Kuntala king. Mr.K. B. Ayyar has already identified the Vikramâditya of this passage with Chandragupta II. The Kuntala king was the Kadamba king Bhagiratha. The Auchityavichâracharchâ of Hemachandra refers also to this embassy. Chandragupta married his daughter Prabhâvatiguptā to the Vâkataka King Rudrasena II. Another marriage was proposed to the Kadamba king through Chandragupta's ambassador, Kâlidâsa. The Talagunda inscription of Kâkusthavarmā seems to point

1. E. H. I.—pp. 439-40.
2. J. B. O. R. S.—Dec., 1926.

to the same auspicious event. It is there said that this king by means of his daughter's marriage 'raised up the family of the Guptas'. This sounds like a favour done to the king by the Kadamba king", probably because the Kadamba kings were Brāhmans, and the Guptas if they were not Vais'yas, were in all likelihood Kshatriyas. Now this southern Princess might be Anantadevi, the mother of Puragupta.

'Genius', it has been said, 'is of no country'. Another great poet in another land condescended to become a matchmaker in an humbler sphere of life. 'William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon, Gent'. united in marriage Stephen Bellott and Mary Mountjoy, his employer's daughter in 1604, as states the Calcutta Englishman of the 23rd May, 1927.

Kumāragupta is compared to Kuśa, the son of Rāmachandra, as he has been compared to Aja, the son of Raghu. He marries Kumudvati, a Nāga Princess the issue of which is Atithi. Unlike the marriage of Aja (Kumāragupta) with Indumati (Anantadevi) which enhanced the glory of the Gupta Dynasty, the marriage of Kus'a (Kumāragupta) after his suppression of the Nāgas, with Kumudvati, the Nāga princess (R.V.-XVI- 86) who became Atithi's or Skandagupta's mother, lowered it in public esteem. This was the reason why Skandagupta refrained deliberately in the Bhitari inscription from mentioning the name of his mother. Skandagupta most probably had to wage a war with the Nāgas, as appears from the following—

नरपतिभुजगानां मानदर्पीत्फणानाम् प्रतिकृतिगरुडाज्ञा(म) निर्व्वि-

षीङ्गावकर्त्ता—'the king who plucked (and utilised) the authority of (his local representatives who were so many Garudas, (and used it as) an antidote against the (hostile) kings who were so many serpents, lifting their hoods in pride and arrogance'. [1] According to the compiler of Vis´vakosha, seven Nâga kings reigned at Mathurâ and were succeeded by the Guptas. Kâliya suppressed by Krishna might be a Nâga potentate. So the Nâgas appear to have been Scythians. Nine Nâga kings are said to have reigned in the first and second centuries A.D. in Central India with their capital at Naravara (or Narapura associated with Nala and Damayanti) or Padmâvati (Padampawaya- the scene of Bhavabhuti's Mâlati-Mâdhava). Of these Ganapatinâga is mentioned in Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription and in the former's minted coins, some of which are extant. The coins of the Nāga Kings of Râmagarh and Surgujā bear figures of serpents.

Kumāragupta was styled 'Mahendrāditya' and in the Junâgadh inscription he is described as having attained companionship of gods (सुरसखित्वम्).[2] Kālidāsa says with reference to Kus'a -दिवस्पतेरासीत् सिंहासनार्द्धभाक् or after his death Kus'a began to occupy half of Indra's throne. As mentioned above (see p.69) Kumāragupta might have been killed in his war with the Pushyamitras. After his victory over the Pushyamitras, Skandagupta betook himself to his mother, whose eyes were full of tears from joy, just as Krishna, when he had slain his enemies, betook himself to his

1. C. I.—13. 2. C. I.—14.

mother Devaki"[1] . This is significant—Krishna went to Devaki after killing Kamsa, who had persecuted his parents: Skandagupta went to his mother after defeating his father's persecutors.

In the Bhitari stone-pillar inscription Skandagupta is described as *conquering* the Pushyamitras and as *shaking the earth with his two hands in the act of his encountering* the Huns in a fight (see p. 111). There is no definite mention of his defeating the Huns. Probably it was a drawn battle, and a treaty might have been concluded with them for the time being. The absence of any accurate information regarding the latter part of Skandagupta's reign and the Eran stone-boar inscription of Toramána (see p.53) lead us to the conclusion that in the closing years of his reign and during the rule of his successor, Budhagupta, a large portion of his northern and northwestern territories came into the possession of the Huns. Mr. Vincent Smith also says, " A little later about 470 A.D., the Huns advanced into the interior and again attacked Skandagupta in the heart of his dominions. He was unable to continue the successful resistance which he had offered in the earlier days of his rule ...... The financial distress of Skandagupta's administration is plainly indicated by the abrupt debasement of the coinage in his latter years."[2]

Kus'a's son, Atithi, is described in the 17th cantc of the Raghuvams'am as placing his foot on the crowns of other kings, just as Skandagupta made the king of the Pushyamitras his footstool[3]—

1. C. I.—13. 2. E. H. I. —328.

3. क्षितिप-चरण-पीठे स्थापितोवामपादः—C. I.-13.

वितानसहितं तत्र भेजे पैतृकमासनम् ।
चूड़ामणिभिरुद्घृष्टपादपीठं महीक्षिताम् ॥ R.V.-XVII—28.

[Glorious then he sat
Upon his Father's throne, well-canopied,
Before whose footstool kings were wont to lay
Their jewelled crowns.] P.D.L.J. .

সভায় অতিথি এবে করিয়া গমন,
আরোহেন সবিতান পৈতৃক আসন।
পাদপীঠে যাহার সামন্ত নৃপগণ,
নিজ নিজ চূড়ামণি করেন ঘর্ষণ ॥

Skandagupta's regal glory extends to the limits of the four oceans—पृथुश्रीः चतुरुदधिजलान्ताम् ; [1] Atithi's valour —अस्य वेलान्तं प्रतापः—extends to the sea-coast. (R.V.-XVII-37).

Atithi goes to war with only those, who are weaker than he and whom he can easily defeat —

शक्येष्वेवाभवद् यात्रा तस्य शक्तिमतः सतः ।
समीरणसहायोऽपि नाम्भःप्रार्थी दवानलः ॥
R. V.—XVII-56.

(Only foes
Of equal might that valiant, powerful King,
Made war upon: So forest-fires, though urged,
By rushing winds, attack not running streams.)
P.D.L.J.

(যুঝেন তা'দের সহ নৃপ শক্তিমান্,
যাহাদের পরাজিতে তিনি বলবান্।

C. I.—14.

সমীরণ সহায় হ'লেও দাবানল,
কথনও না যায় সেথা যেথা আছে জল ॥)

Here is Kālidāsa's justification of Atithi's not fighting a decisive battle with a powerful enemy. The Poet after a few lines reverts to the same theme and says—

परात्मनोः परिच्छिद्य शक्त्यादीनां बलाबलम् ।
ययावेभिर्बलिष्ठश्चेत् परस्मादास्त सोऽन्यथा ॥

R.V.–XVII—59.

(His foemen's strength
Or weakness well he pondered and his own
For strength or wealth;–if his the better part,
Assailing boldly—else he abode attack.)—P.D.L.J.

[পরীক্ষিয়া বলাবল নিজের পরের,
করিতেন আয়োজন নৃপ সমরের ।
বুঝিতেন যদি তিনি নিজে বলীয়ান্,
না হলে সমরে কভু নহে আগুয়ান্ ॥]

What is the necessity for this repetition? Kālidāsa does not lay down such a maxim regarding any other king of Raghu's line. Skandagupta's Fabian policy regarding his terrible enemy, the Huns, is vindicated by the court-poet. The fortyseventh verse of the seventeenth canto of Raghuvams'am, where the poet says that Atithi does not depend merely on his diplomacy, as mere valour is beastly, supports this contention. If the sixtieth verse of the same canto is read along with the fifty-ninth quoted above, the Poet's reference to the increase of Atithi's power on account of the fullness of his treasury, seems to indicate his readiness for winning over a formid-

able foe by means of his wealth. In the Bhitari inscription bards are described as raising Skandagupta 'to distinction with (their) songs and praises'[1]. Kālidāsa might have been the most prominent of them. It appears that even if Kālidāsa did not compose the Bhitari inscription (C.I –13), the composer was probably acquainted with the Poet's Raghuvams'am—चरितममलकीर्त्तेर्गीयते यसग शुभ्रम दिशि दिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारम मनुष्यैः —the white or pure character and spotless fame of whom from whose childhood up to the present time is sung by contented men. This reminds us of Kālidāsa's आकुमारकथोद्घातं (see p. 133). Again the introduction of Dhanada or Kuvera, Indra, Varuna and Yama in connexion with Atithi's administration (R V.—VII—80&81) reminds us of the mention of these deities in the inscriptions of this period. In the Junagadh inscription, which is of his Viceroy Parnadatta, there is amidst some evident exaggeration, which is naturally expected from a subordinate, a mention of Skandagupta's humiliating the Mlechchhas. These were probably the Pushyamitras whom Mr. V. Smith regards as "apparently foreigners"[2]. The Huns are not mentioned at all. Skandagupta is described in the Bhitari inscription as going to his mother after his victory over the Pushyamitras for telling her that he has defeated and humiliated the insolent enemy, in the war with whom his father may have lost his life. Kumāragupta is mentioned by Skandagupta not as 'the exterminator of kings' like

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1. C. I. no. 14.
2. E. H. I.—p. 326 note.

Samudragupta and 'not having an antagonist equal to him in power' like Chandragupta II, but simply as 'glorious and renowned for the innate power of his mighty intellect'. Chandragupta II mentioned in his inscription (C.I. no. 4) Kumāradevi as the mother of Samudragupta and Dattādevi as his own mother. The inscription (C.I. no. 10) of the reign of Kumāragupta I not only mentions Kumāradevi and Dattādevi, but also the name of Kumāragupta's mother as Dhruvadevi. But Skandagupta in his own inscription (C I. nc-13) though mentioning the names of Mahādevi Kumāradevi, Mahādevi Dattādevi and Mahādevi Dhruvadevi, refrained, we think deliberately, from giving the name of his own mother, firstly because she was not the chief queen or Mahādevi, secondly because she was a Nāga Princess (see p. 124), and thirdly because she had not the honour of becoming a *sati*. Anantadevi was probably the chief queen and her son Puragupta the lawful heir as the Bhitari seal (see p. 68) says.

As the two inscriptions describe the various virtues and accomplishments of Skandagupta, so Kālidāsa also is eloquent in praise of Atithi's merits. Atithi restores to their dominions the princes he conquered—

यदुवाच न तन्मिथया यद्ददौ न जहार तत् ।
सोऽभूद्भग्नव्रतः शत्रूनुद्धृत्य प्रतिरोपयन् ॥

R. V.—XVII—42.

(Not a word untrue
E'er passed his lips, no gift was e'er sought back,—
Not e'er his word recalled—save only when
He pardoned and restored a humbled foe.)—P.D.L.J..

(অনৃত না হয় কভু অতিথি-বচন
দত্ত বস্তু কভু পুনঃ না হয় গ্রহণ।
জিত-রাজ্য-প্রত্যর্পণে হয় ব্যতিক্রম,
অন্যথা অবিচলিত রাজার নিয়ম ॥)

So Skandagupta showed mercy to the conquered who were in distress 'जितेषु आर्त्तेषु कृत्वा दयाम '[1]

Skanda is a name of Shadanana or the six-mouthed Kartikeya, the God of War. Atithi is compared by Kâlidâsa to Shadanana—

स गुणानां बलानां च षण्णां षण्मुखविक्रमः ।
बभूव विनियोगज्ञः साधनीयेषु वस्तुषु ॥ R.V.—XVII-67.

(He, whose prowess was like that of Kartikeya, knew how to utilise the six political expedients, as well as the six kinds of forces towards objects that were to be secured.)[2]

(বিক্রমে অজের এই অতিথি-রাজন্,
তাঁহার তুলনা এক বীর ষড়ানন।
সুসাধ্য বিষয়ে ছয় বল ছয় গুণ,
প্রয়োগিতে নৃপমণি সর্ব্বদা নিপুণ ॥)

Skandagupta's politic conduct is also referred to in the Bhitari Stone-pillar inscription.

The chief queen, Anantadevi, mother of Puragupta, the eldest son and lawful heir (see p. 69), might have burnt herself after her husband's death on the funeral pyre, as Kumudvati, mother of Atithi, does after her

1. C. I.—13.
2. Translated by G. R. Nandargikar.

husband Kuśa has been killed in his fight with a demon. But the mother of Skandagupta might have been dissuaded by him from following suit. To console his mother for the lamented death of his father, and also to show to his people his devotion to him, he installed, as the Bhitari inscription says, the god Śārngin or Vishnu 'to increase the religious merit of his father (पितुः पुण्याभिवृद्धये)'[1].

From the above it will appear that there are some important points of resemblance between Kuśa and Kumāragupta, and between Atithi and Skandagupta.

As Dr. Keith says, Kālidāsa shows little fondness for the use of slesha or double entendre[2]. Hence when he introduces puns, he, it may be taken for granted, does it with a purpose. Dilipa with his queen comes to the hermitage of Vaśishtha, whose disciples welcome the royal pair—

तस्मै सभ्याः सभार्य्याय गोप्त्रे गुप्ततमेन्द्रियाः ।
अर्हणामर्हते चक्रुर्मुनयो नयचक्षुषे ॥ R.V.—1-55.

(The courteous anchorites noted for their self-control received with due honour their learned protector (Dilipa) and his wife). Here 'goptre' and 'gupta' may refer to the Guptas. Dilipa and the other members of his family are स्ववीर्य्यगुप्ताः or able to protect themselves by their own prowess. (R.V.-II-4).

Again the expression — गोप्ता गृहिणीसहायः or 'the protector with his wife' is used with reference to

1. C.I.—13.
2. C.S. L. p. 48.

Dilipa and his queen, when they tend Vas'ishtha's cow. (R. V.—II-24). The word (गोप्ता) goptâ may refer to the reigning Gupta King.

Raghu's glory is being sung from his childhood by rustic women, who being seated in the sugar-cane shade, guard their cornfields—

इक्षुच्छायनिषादिन्यस्तस्य गोप्तुर्गुणोदयम् ।
आकुमारकथोद्धातं शालिगोप्योजगुर्यशः ॥

(R.V.—IV-20).

Here 'goptuh' may refer to the Guptas (See also p. 129).

"स गुप्तमूलप्रत्यन्तः" [1] means 'he (Raghu) who has made arrangements for defending the places near his capital and also those lying on the boundaries of his kingdom'. Here we find in 'gupta' a reference to the reigning Gupta king.

Mr. H. N. De[2] says 'The personal name of Kumāragupta (I) was Chandraprakās'a (the radiant moon) —a fact alluded to in—

राजापि लेभे सुतमाशु तस्मात्
आलोकमर्कादिव जीवलोकः ।
ब्राह्मे मुहूर्त्ते किल तस्य देवी
कुमारकल्पं सुषुवे कुमारम् ॥

... ...

रूपं तदोजस्वि तदेव वीर्य्यं
तदेव नैसर्गिकमुन्नतत्वम् ।

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1. R. V.—IV—26.
2. Introduction to Kâlidâsa by Pandit R. Vidyabhushan.

न कारणात् स्वाद्बिभिदे कुमारः
प्रवर्त्तितोदीपइव प्रदीपात् ॥ R.V.—V-31 to 37.

(As the living world receives light from the sun, so the king got a son from the blessing of the hermit. At an auspicious moment his queen gave birth to a Kumāra (Prince Aja or Kumāragupta I), who was like Kumāra (Kārtikeya). The courage, beauty, valour and natural dignity of the Kumāra or prince did not differ from those of his source (father Raghu or Chandragupta II), as a lamp does not from that from which it is lighted). This was just as Kautsa had predicted in his blessing of Raghu—पुत्रं...पितेव (R.V.—V-34)—'May you obtain a son as praise-worthy as you have been of your father'. By this means the poet praises Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I.

The word Samudra in आसमुद्रक्षितीशानां (R. V.—1-5) may refer to Samudragupta, the 'Napoleon of India', who converted by his conquests the petty kingdom of his father into a powerful and extensive empire. So the expression may also mean, 'of the Gupta Dynasty whose empire has begun since the reign of Samudragupta'.

Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (vikrama or valour + āditya or the sun) may have been referred to in the following—

प्रतापस्तस्य भानोश्च युगपद्व्यानशे दिशः — (R. V.—IV-15).

(The valour of Raghu and the Sun spread in all directions).

His vikrama or valour may have also been allud-ed to in—

मत्तेभरदनोत्कीर्णव्यक्तविक्रमलक्षणम् — (R. V.—IV-59).

(The vikrama or valour of Raghu was engraved in letters, as it were, on the Trikuta hill by the tusks of his infuriated war-elephants).

At the end of Malavikāgnimitrām there is a strange Bharata-vākyam or prayer—

आशास्यमभ्यधिगमात् प्रभृति प्रजानां,
सम्पद्यते न खलु गोप्तरि नाग्निमित्रे।

(Since the accession of the *Gopta* or protector Agni-mitra, all the desires of his subjects have been gratified). This 'Goptā' may refer to Chandragupta II, the Poet's first patron before whose court the drama was enacted.

'Gopti' rather its derivative गोप्तरि occurs also in (R. V.—II—14). In the following passage there may be references to Samudragupta and Chandra-gupta II—

निवातपद्मस्तिमितेन चक्षुषा
नृपस्य कान्तं पिवतः सुताननम्।
महोदधेः पूरइवेन्दुदर्शनात्
गुरुः प्रहर्षः प्रबभूव नात्मनि॥ (R. V.—III-17).

(With steady eye, like lotus in still lake,
The king devoured his son's fair face with joy
So great, it burst all bounds, as ocean's tide
At fulness of the moon.)—P. D. L. J..

(অচপল ইন্দীবর-নিভ দুনয়নে
পুত্রের সুচন্দ্রমুখ হেরিলা রাজন্,
অপার আনন্দ তাঁর না ধরে অন্তরে,
যথা যবে পূর্ণিমার বিধু-দরশনে
সুখের বিহ্বলে সিন্ধু হয় নিমগন,
দুর্দ্দম সলিলোচ্ছ্বাস উছলিয়া পড়ে।)— N.D. .

Here Dilipa or Samudragupta may have been compared to the ocean (samudra) and his son Raghu or Chandragupta to the moon.

Chandragupta (or Raghu) (may have been alluded to in बालचन्द्रमाः or the young moon (R. V.—III-22), in विशदप्रभे चन्द्रे or the pure-rayed moon (IV—18), in तमोनुदं (III-33) or the moon or the remover of darkness, हिमांशो (of the moon) in R.V. — V—16, in द्विजराजकान्तिः or one radiant like the moon, (V—23), in दिगन्तःविलम्बीचन्द्रः or the setting moon before his son's accession (V--67), in the reference by Aus´inari (Pururavā's Chief Queen) to the junction between Chandra and Rohini and her maid's reply that the union of the Chief Queen with the King will be equally beautiful (V.-V.—III-63 & 64). There may be a reference to Chandragupta's suzerainty in the following expression of Pururavā's delight on account of his being able to win Urvas´i's love—

सामन्तमौलिमणिरञ्जित पादपीठमेकातपत्रमवनेर्न तथा प्रभुत्वम्।
अस्याः सखे! चरणयोरहमद्य कान्तमाज्ञाकरत्वमधिगम्य यथा कृतार्थः ॥
V.V.—III-129.

(সামন্ত-মুকুট-মণির প্রভায়,
মোর পাদ-পীঠ শোভে।

একচ্ছত্র প্রভু নিখিল ধরায়,
মানবে জানয়ে সবে ॥
অবনী-মাঝারে হয়ে মহনীয়,
হইনাই সুখী এত,
লভে ও পদের আজ্ঞা রমণীয়,
হইয়াছি তৃপ্ত যত ॥)

Kumâragupta (or Aja)may also have been referred to in मयूरपृष्ठाश्रयिणागुहेन or 'like Kârtikeya on the back of a peacock', when Aja is described as being seated on a throne in the Svayamvara Sabhā (R.V.—V1-4) There may be a reference to his viceroyalty at Ujjaini during his father's life-time—Aja bearing the heavy burden of the world equally with his father in VI-78. The word Kumāra is significant in VI—3 and 80, so also Kārtikeya or Skanda in VII-1 and Kumâra in VII-16, 61 and 63.

In the latter part of the first Act of Vikramorvasí, the word *vikrama* is used with reference to Pururavā twice in quick succession. It may refer to Vikramāditya, (Chandragupta II). Chitraratha says to him after he has rescued Urvasí—

दिष्ट्या महोपकारपर्याप्तेन विक्रममहिम्ना वर्द्धसे (V.V.—I-71).

(Fortunately you have rendered yourself glorious by performing a very beneficent deed with the greatness of your *vikrama* or valour.) A few lines below, the king says that he does not deserve any praise for what he has done—that his success has been due to Indra's favour. Chitraratha replies युक्तं, अनुत्सुकता खलु

विक्रमालङ्कारः (This is proper, for disregard of praise or modesty is the ornament of *vikrama, i.e.*, (valour or a valiant man).

Such veiled allusions are not uncommon in Sanskrit Literature. In the first act of Mudrârâkshasam, a similar double entendre[1] refers to the conspiracy of of the diplomat Rākshasa with the foreign king Malayaketu (who is like Ketu) against Chandragupta Mauryya (who is like the Moon), which will be foiled by the policy of the tactful Chānakya or Kautilya (who is like the planet Budha)—

> क्रूरग्रहः स केतुश्चन्द्रमसं पूर्णमण्डलमिदानीम् ।[1]
> अभिभवितुमिच्छति बलात्—रक्षत्येनं तु बुधयोगः ॥

Much importance should not, however, be attached to these isolated puns. If they were the only evidence of the Poet's connexion with the Guptas, they might safely be rejected. But when they are considered along with other items of evidence, they become significant. Nor should we think that whenever, for instance, *chandra* and *samudra* or their equivalents are present, Chandragupta and Samudragupta are being referred to. The instances must be striking. The moon and the ocean are the stock objects of comparison in Sanskrit Literature.

Dakshināvarta Nātha (who flourished in the 12th Century A.D.) and Mallinātha (who flourished in the 14th Century)[2] in their commentaries on the Megha dutā, found a reference to Nichula and Dig-nāga or

1 and 2 See also S. D.—p. 145.

Dinnāga, two contemporaries of Kālidāsa in the following stanza of this lyric—

अद्रेः शृङ्गं हरति पवनः किंस्विदित्युन्मुखीभि-
र्दृष्टोत्साहश्चकितचकितं मुग्धसिद्धांगनाभिः ।
स्थानादस्मात्सरसनिचुलादुत्पतोदङ्मुखः खं
दिङ्नागानां पथि परिहरन्स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् ॥

(M.D.—I.-14).

(ত্যজি এ সরস বেতসের বন,
উঠিয়া উত্তরে এখান হতে,
যাও দিগ্ গজের করিয়া হরণ
স্থূল-শুণ্ড-গর্ব্ব, বিমান পথে,
'গিরি-শৃঙ্গ কিবা উড়িছে পবনে !'
ভাবিয়া মনেতে বিস্ময়ে ভুলি,
মুগ্ধ সিদ্ধ-নারী চকিত-নয়নে,
হেরিবে তোমায় বদন তুলি।)—B. C. M.

(From this place full of wet canes, rise into the sky with thy face directed to the north, avoiding on the way contact with the massive trunks of the quarter-elephants, thy movements being watched by the ignorant wives of the siddhas (demigods), who with uplifted faces will wonder whether the wind is carrying away the crest of a mountain).

Or

(From this place where stands thy (friend) Nichula versed in poetic sentiments, ascend, O Muse, (the heaven of invention), holding up thy head, and avoid-

ing in the course of thy journey the glaring mistakes committed by the hands of authors like Dinnāga, while thy flight is admired by good poets and fair women filled with surprise and looking upwards, as if the superiority of the mighty Dinnāga (अद्रेः शृङ्गं) were eclipsed by thee).

As regards Nichula, nothing more is known than what is supplied by Mallinātha, viz., 'निचुलो नाम महाकविः कालिदासस्य सहाध्यायः'—the great poet Nichula who was Kālidāsa's fellow-student. Dignāga, a famous Buddhist logician, author of Pramāna Samuchchaya, is mentioned by Mallinātha as Kalidāsa's opponent. Dignāga was the pupil of the Buddhist Patriarch (Bodhisatva) of the name of Vasubandhu, author of Abhidharmakosha-s'āstra written to refute the errors of the Vaibhashikas, who was born in Gāndhāra and who taught at Srāvasti (Sahet-mahet in Oudh). Vasubandhu was the pupil of Manoratha, who was a native of Gāndhāra, 'a master of s'astras and author Vibhāshā S'āstra' [1] 'This learned doctor (i.e. Manoratha) flourished in the midst of the thousand years after the nirvāna of Buddha'[2].........At that time Vikramāditya, king of the country S'ravasti, was of wide renown. His charity was extensive. But he became jealous of Manoratha who gave his barber 'a lakh of gold' for shaving his head. So the king wanted to humiliate Manoratha. There was a logical disputation between the S'raman Manoratha and the Hindu Pandits of the court of Vikramāditya. Manoratha proposed the subject of fire and smoke. The Hindu

1 & 2. B. B. R. p. 105.

Pandits cried out simultaneously that the Buddhist Disputant ought to have mentioned smoke first and then fire, and declared that he was beaten. Manoratha 'bit out his tongue ; and writing to Vasubandhu "In the multitude of partisans there is no justice , among persons deceived there is no discernment," he died.

Now this Vikramāditya was probably Chandragupta II, who had his court at Sāketa or Ayodhyâ, near Srâvasti before his conquest of the Western Kshatrapas, which must have happened before the Udayagiri inscription of 401-2 A.D. and after 388 A.D., because no Kshatrapa coins bearing a later date have been found. He was an orthodox Vaishnava—his Mathurā and Gadhwa inscriptions style him as Paramabhāgavata—and was to some extent hostile to the Bauddhas[1].

One of Vasubandhu's works was translated into Chinese in 404 A.D. and another about 405 A.D. So Vasubandhu must have flourished earlier than 404 A.D. . If Vasubandhu had lived up to his eightieth year as Mr. V. smith says[2], he might have been a contemporary of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. He might have died before Chandragupta II's conquest of western India about 390 A.D. . There is nothing absurd in his being a pupil of Manoratha and his being younger than his preceptor by a few years. As Dignāga was Vasubandhu's pupil, we can

1. P. H. I. pp. 61-2.
2. E. H. I. p. 347.

easily imagine him to be a contemporary of his opponents Nichula and Kâlidasa, the poets of the court of Chandragupta II, when he transferred it to Ujjayini after his conquest of Mālwā and Surāshtra. The absence however, of any poet of the name of Nichula as the contemporary of Kālidāsa and the straining of the meaning of the passage by Dakshināvartanatha and Mallinātha to establish Kālidāsa's reference to Dignâga, the Buddhist author, and the Poet's tolerance towards the Buddhists, as is evident from all his works, are strong proofs against this theory of the commentators.

Though Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription contains some hyperbole, yet there can be no doubt that much of it is true. Otherwise his achievements would not be praised in almost all the inscriptions of the Gupta Monarchs. The close resemblance between Raghu's and Samudragupta's conquests is a strong evidence of the Poet's connexion with the Guptas.

It will not be expedient to seek for any uniform consistency in the comparison between Samudragupta and Dilipa, between Chandragupta II and Raghu, between Kumâragupta I and Aja, between Kumâragupta I and Kuśa,[1] and between Skandagupta and Atithi, the reason being that the immediate object of the Poet is to compose an Epic embodying the achievements of the dynasty in which the Great God Vishnu has been born—the subject-

1. The installation of Kumaragupta is described under the semblance of the inauguration of Áyus in the last Act of the Vikramorvaśi.

matter of Râmâyana and some other Purânas. What is to be remembered is that the Poet has availed himself of every opportunity to eulogise and exalt the line of his royal patrons.

Chapter IV.

The Centre of the Poet's Activities.

'None love their country but who love their home'—Coleridge..

That Kālidâsa was very fond of Ujjayini, where probably he spent most of his days, and that if he was not born there, the place of his birth was somewhere near this famous city, are evident from his writings. It is not merely his accurate knowledge of the topography of a certain locality and of its products and of the manners and customs of its people, that leads us to this conclusion. For we find in his Raghuvams'a that he knew that the Ganges fell into the Bay of Bengal, and that palm-trees, cane-plants, and deltaic islands abounded in Lower Bengal, where a rich crop was yielded by transplanted paddy. We also see that he was aware that cocoanut, betel-nut trees and betel plants were abundant on the sea-board of the Madras Presidency, and that wine was made from cocoanut-palms. The poet was also cognisant of cardamom plants and serpent-surrounded sandal-trees in Malayakuta, Mâlakuta, or the region south of the Kāveri—the region of the Nilgiri, Anaimalai and Cardamom hills, and knew that pearls were found near the place, where the Tamraparni flowing by Tinnevelly falls

into the Gulf of Manaar between India and Ceylon. He was not ignorant of the facts that the Sahya Parvata or the Western Ghat Mountains ran close and parallel to the sea, and that palm-trees and flower-bearing Ketaki and Punnāga plants grew luxuriantly on the banks of the Narmadā. He knew that saffron and grapes grew in the Northern Punjab, and that wine was made from the latter. He was aware that the lower ranges of the Himālayas were infested with lions, that there grew in abundance birch, bamboo, nameru and pine trees, and that the air there exhaled the fragrance of the musk-deer, and that Kālāguru (agalochan) trees abounded, and spirited elephants were available in Assam.

So we see that Kālidāsa knew accurately most of the provinces of India. But we find in his works, as M.M. H.P. S'āstri says, his partiality for the Himālayas and Ujjaini and the district around the latter place. The Poet begins his Kumāra-sambhava with a sublime and beautiful description of the mountain—

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः।
पूर्व्वापरौ तोयनिधीवगाह्य स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः॥

... ...

अनन्तरत्नप्रभवस्य यस्य हिमं न सौभाग्यविलोपि जातम्।
एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः॥
यश्चाप्सरोविभ्रममण्डनानां सम्पादयित्रीं शिखरैर्बिभर्त्ति।
बलाहकच्छेदविभक्तरागामकालसन्ध्यामिव धातुमत्ताम्॥

... ...

यः पूरयन् कीचकरन्ध्रभागान् दरीमुखोत्थेन समीरणेन।
उद्गास्यतामिच्छति किन्नराणां तानप्रदायित्वमिवोपगन्तुम् ॥

... ...

दिवाकराद्रक्षति यो गुहासु लीनं दिवाभीतमिवान्धकारम्।
क्षुद्रेऽपि नूनं शरणं प्रपन्ने ममत्वमुच्चैःशिरसां सतीव ॥
लाङ्गूलविक्षेपविसर्पिशोभैरितस्ततश्चन्द्रमरीचिगौरैः।
यस्यार्थयुक्तं गिरिराजशब्दं कुर्वन्ति वालव्यजनैश्चमर्यः ॥

... ...

भागीरथीनिर्झरशीकराणां वोढा मुहुः कम्पितदेवदारुः।
यद् वायुरन्विष्टमृगैः किरातैरासेव्यते भिन्नशिखण्डिबर्हः ॥
सप्तर्षिहस्तावचितावशेषाण्यधो विवस्वान् परिवर्त्तमानः।
पद्मानि यस्याग्रसरोरुहाणि प्रबोधयत्यूर्ध्वमुखैर्मयूखैः ॥
यज्ञाङ्गयोनित्वमवेक्ष्य यस्य सारं धरित्रीधरणक्षमञ्च।
प्रजापतिः कल्पितयज्ञभागं शैलाधिपत्यं स्वयमन्वतिष्ठत् ॥

K.S.—I-1,3,4,8,12,13,15-17.

[Far in the north Himâlaya, lifting high
His towery summits till they cleave the sky,
Spans the wide land from east to western sea,
Lord of the hills, instinct with deity.

... ...

Proud mountain-king! his diadem of snow
Dims not the beauty of his gems below.
For who can gaze upon the moon and dare
To mark one spot less brightly glorious there?
Who 'mid a thousand virtues dares to blame
One shade of weakness in a hero's fame?

Oft, when the gleamings of his mountain brass
Flash through the clouds and tint them as they
pass,
Those glories mock the hues of closing day,
And heaven's bright wantons hail their hour of
play;
Try, ere the time, the magic of their glance,
And deck their beauty for the twilight dance.

... ...

List! breathing from each cave, Himâlaya leads
The glorious hymn with all his whispering reeds,
Till heavenly minstrels raise their voice in song,
And swell his music as it floats along.

... ...

Yet hath he caves within whose inmost cells
In tranquil rest the murky darkness dwells,
And like the night-bird, spreads the brooding wing
Safe in the shelter of the mountain-king,
Unscorned, uninjured; for the good and great
Spurn not the suppliant for his lowly state.
E'en the wild kine that roam his forests bring
The royal symbols to the mountain-king.
With tails outspread, their bushy streaming hair
Flashes like moonlight through the parted air.
What monarch's fan more glorious might there be,
More meet to grace a king as proud as he.?

... ...

With pearly dewdrops Gangā loads the gale
That waves the dark pines towering o'er the vale,

And breathes in welcome freshness o'er the face
Of wearied hunters when they quit the chase.
So far aloft, amid Himālayan steeps,
Couched on the tranquil pool the lotus sleeps,
That the Bright Seven, who star the northern sky,
Cull the fair blossoms from their seats on high,
And when the sun pours forth his morning glow
In streams of glory from his path below,
They gain new beauty, as his kisses break
His darlings' slumber on the mountain-lake.
Well might that ancient hill by merit claim
The power and glory of a monarch's name;
Nurse of pure herbs that grace each holy rite;
Earth's meetest bearer of unyielding might.
The Lord of Life for this ordained him king,
And bade him share the sacred offering.] G.

উত্তরেতে আছে দেবাত্মক দেবধাম.
অচলের অধিরাজ হিমালয় নাম,
পূর্ব্বাপর ভাগ যার পয়োনিধি-গত,
রহিয়াছে মেদিনীর মানদণ্ড-মত।
... ...

পরিমাণ-শূন্য রত্নরাজির প্রভব,
হিমহেতু নহে তার গৌরব লাঘব ;
গুণ সমূহেতে একদোষ লুপ্তকরে,
কলঙ্ক নিমগ্ন ইন্দু করে নিজ করে।
শেখরের ধাতু আভা লাগি মেঘচয়ে,
অকালেতে সন্ধ্যা বোধ হয় হিমালয়ে,

মনোহরা অপ্সরার তাহে মন হরে,
বিভ্রমেতে অসময়ে বেশভূষা করে।

... ...

সেই গিরি-দরীমুখ-জাত সমীরণ
বংশের বিবর-ভাগ করি সম্পূরণ,
গানে রত গন্ধর্ব্ব-গণের সন্নিধান,
স্বর-সংমিলন হেতু চড়াইছে তান।

... ...

দিবাভীত অন্ধকার নিবসি কন্দরে,
রাত্রিচর প্রায়, রক্ষা পায় ভানু-করে ;
শরণ-আগত অতি ক্ষুদ্র জন প্রতি
নিতান্ত মমতা-শীল মহতের মতি।

চমরী-লাঙ্গুল-ক্ষেপ কিবা শোভাকর,
নিন্দিয়া চন্দ্রের দ্যুতি অতি শুভ্রতর ;
গিরিরাজ নাম গিরি ধরে সত্য বটে,
এহেন চামর যার ঢুলায় নিকটে।

... ...

অঙ্গে ধরি ভাগিরথী নির্ঝর-শীকর,
কাঁপাইছে বারবার মন্দার-নিকর;
হেন সমীরণ সেবে, মৃগ-অন্বেষণে,
চঞ্চল ময়ূরপুচ্ছ-ধারী ব্যাধগণে।

অধোভাগে বিভাকর করেন ভ্রমণ,
গিরি-শিরে, সরোবরে সরোরুহগণ
সপ্ত-ঋষি চয়নান্তে যাহা ছিল শেষ,
ঊর্দ্ধ করে বিকসিত করেন দিনেশ।

সেই যজ্ঞ-সাধনীয় বস্তুর নিধান,
ধরণী ধরিয়া যার বল ফলবান্,
যাগ-ভাগ দিয়ে তারে আপনি বিধাতা
করিয়াছে শৈল-আধিপত্যে অধিষ্ঠাতা।—R.L.B.

Kālidāsa again gives a sublime and also a beautiful description of the Himālayas in his Meghaduta, where the love-lorn Yaksha points out to his Cloud-messenger the route to the home of his Beloved—

आसीनानां सुरभितशिलं नाभिगन्धैर्मृगाणां
तस्या एव प्रभवमचलं प्राप्य गौरं तुषारैः।
वक्ष्यस्यध्वश्रमविनयने तस्य शृङ्गे निषण्णः,
शोभां शुभ्रत्रिनयनवृषोत्खातपङ्कोपमेयाम् ॥
तं चेद्वायौ सरति सरलस्कन्धसंघट्टजन्मा
बाधेतोल्काक्षपितचमरीवालभारो दवाग्निः।
अर्हस्येनं शमयितुमलं वारिधारासहस्रै-
रापन्नार्त्तिप्रशमनफलाः सम्पदो ह्युत्तमानाम् ॥

... ...

तत्र व्यक्तं दृषदि चरणन्यासमर्धेन्दुमौलेः[1]
शश्वत्सिद्धैरुपहृतबलिं भक्तिनम्रः परीयाः।
यस्मिन्दृष्टे करणविगमादूर्ध्वमुद्धूतपापाः
कल्पिष्यन्ते स्थिरगणपदप्राप्तये श्रद्दधानाः ॥
शब्दायन्ते मधुरमनिलैः कीचकाः पूर्यमाणाः
संरक्ताभिस्त्रिपुरविजयो गीयते किन्नरीभिः।

1. Called Sricharana-nyása in Sambhu-rahasya : a small hill near Haridvàra called Harakâ-Payri or the foot of S'iva—Wilson and Pàthaka.

निर्ह्रादस्ते मुरज इव चेत् कन्दरेषु ध्वनिः स्यात्
सङ्गीतार्थो ननु पशुपतेस्तत्र भावी समग्रः ॥

... ...

गत्वा चोर्ध्वं दशमुखभुजोच्छ्वासितप्रस्थसन्धेः
कैलासस्य त्रिदशवनितादर्पणस्यातिथिः स्याः ।
शृङ्गोच्छ्रायैः कुमुदविशदैर्यो वितत्य स्थितः खं,
राशीभूतः प्रतिदिनमिव त्र्यम्बकस्याट्टहासः ॥
उत्पश्यामि त्वयि तटगते स्निग्धभिन्नाञ्जनाभे,
सद्यःकृत्तद्विरदरदनच्छेदगौरस्य तस्य ।
लीलाद्रेः स्तिमितनयनप्रेक्षणीयां भवित्री-
मंसन्यस्ते सति हलभृतो मेचके वाससीव ॥

(M.D.-I-53,54,56,57,59,60).

[As Siva's bull upon his sacred neck,
Amidst his ermine, owns some sable speck,[1]
So shall thy shade upon the mountain show,
Whose sides are silvered with eternal snow;
Where Gangā leads her purifying waves,
And the musk-deer spring frequent from the caves,
From writhing boughs should forest-flames arise,
Whose breath the air, and brand the Yak supplies,
Instant afford the aid, 'tis thine to lend,
And with a thousand friendly streams descend;
For still on earth prosperity proceeds,
From acts of love and charitable deeds.

... ...

1. 'Like dark earth by the snow-white bull of Śiva tossed'—T. K. R.

Next to the mountain with the foot imprest,
Of him who wears the crescent for his crest,
Devoutly pass, and with religious glow
Around the spot in pious circles go :
For there have saints the sacred altar raised,
And there eternal offerings have blazed;
And blest the faithful worshippers for they
The stain of sin, with life shall cast away,
And after death a glad admittance gain,
To S'iva's glorious and immortal train:
Here wake the chorus: bid the thunder's sound
Deep and reiterated roll around
Loud as a hundred drums ; while softer strains
The swelling gale breathes sweetly through the canes;
And from lovely songsters of the skies,
Hymns to the Victor of Tripura rise. —W. .

... ...

Seek then Kailāsa's hospitable care,
With peaks by magic[1] arms asunder riven,
To whom, as mirror, goddesses repair,
So lotus-bright his summits cloud the heaven,
Like form and substance to God's daily laughter given,
Like powder[2] black and soft I seem to see
Thine outline on the mountain-slope as bright
As new-sawn tusks of stainless ivory ;
No eye could wink before as fair a sight
As dark-blue robes upon the Ploughman's[3] shoulder white] —T. K. R. .

1. Lit. Râvana's 2. Collyrium. 3. Balaràma's. .

"মৃগনাভি-গন্ধে সুরভি-কন্দর,
পুণ্য জাহ্নবীর জনম যায়,
তুষার-ধবল হিমাদ্রি-ভূধর,
আরোহিবে, সখে, যখন তা'য়,
শ্রম-বিনোদনে ধবল শিখরে
বসিলে, সুন্দর হইবে শোভা,
মহেশ-বৃষের শ্বেত শৃঙ্গোপরে
পঙ্কের মলিন যেমন আভা!
বায়ু-বিতাড়িত দেব-দারু-দ্রুমে
কর্কশ ঘর্ষণে যদি বা উঠে
দাবাগ্নি ভীষণ হিমালয়-ভূমে,
দগ্ধ-কেশ-ভার চমরী ছুটে,
শত বারিধারা বরষি তাহায়
নিবায়ো বিকট অনল-শিখে,
বিপদে আর্ত্তের হইতে সহায়
সাধুর সম্পদ জানিও, সখে।

... ...

শিলায় অঙ্কিত ধূর্জ্জটি-চরণ,
যোগী আনে পূজা সতত যার,
করো প্রদক্ষিণ ভক্তি-নম্র-মন,
ঘুচিয়া যাইবে কলুষ-ভার;
ভকত-জনের, দরশনে তার,
পাপ, তাপ দূরে পলায়ে যায়,
দেহান্তে ধরিয়া সুন্দর আকার
শিব-সহচর-পদবী পায়।

কীচকের রন্ধ্রে অনিল প্রবেশি
বাজিতেছে বেণু মধুর রবে
কিন্নর-যুবতী দলে দলে মিশি,
ত্রিপুর-বিজয় গাইছে সবে ;
তুমি যদি কর যোগদান তায়
মুরজ-গরজে করিয়া ধ্বনি,
কন্দর-মাঝারে শঙ্কর-পূজায়
সম্পূর্ণ সংগীত হইবে, গণি।
... ...
ঊর্দ্ধে উঠি দেখ স্ফটিক কৈলাস,
(নাড়িল রাবণ, তাহাতে শ্লথ
সানু-সন্ধি তার),—উজল বিভাস,
অমর-নারীর আরশি মত ;
রজত-তরঙ্গে জুড়িয়ে আকাশ
শৃঙ্গ শৃঙ্গোপরে উঠেছে তায়,
যেন রাশীকৃত হর-অট্টহাস
জমাট বাঁধিয়ে প্রকাশ পায়।

নূতন কৰ্ত্তিত গজ-দন্ত প্রায়
অতি শুভ্র সেই গিরির কোলে,
উজল কাজল জিনি তব কায়
লগন হইয়া যখন দোলে,
ভাবি মনে, হবে অপূর্ব্ব সুষমা,
নেহারিবে লোক স্তিমিত-চোকে,
শ্যাম উত্তরীয় ধরিবে উপমা,
যেন বলদেব-ধবল-বুকে। ” —B. C. M.

The sonorous sound produced by the wind passing through hollow hill-bamboos has been described, as we have seen, in the Kumárasambhava and Meghaduta. This is also referred to twice in the Raghuvamśa (II—12 and IV-73).

We have already noted Kálidása's edifying description of the Himálayas in the expedition of Raghu (see p. 113). He places the first scene of his Vikramorvaśi, viz., the worship of the Sun by King Pururavas, the carrying away of the nymph Urvaśi by the demon Keśi, and her rescue by the King in the region of the Hemakuta or the golden-peaked (resplendent with the rays of the sun falling on its snowy peaks) Himagiri. After Pururavas has been successful in persuading the beautiful Urvaśi, with whom he has fallen desperately in love, to become his queen, he decides to spend his honeymoon on the Kailása mountain and near the lake Mánas-sarovara, where he later on roams demented, on account of the loss of his Beloved, who has been turned into a creeper.

Kálidāsa's liking for this mountain may be accounted for by the fact that it is one of the grandest creations of Nature, and specially by the fact that it is not only the abode of the lesser gods and demi-gods, but also that of the great God Iśa, Iśvara or Śiva, whom he invokes or celebrates in almost all his works and of whom he is a devoted worshipper. The poet may have undertaken a pilgrimage from Ujjaini or its neighbourhood to Mánassarovara and Mount Kailása through Brahmāvarta, Kurukshetra, Kankhala, and the lower and then the higher slopes of the Himālayas, and thus may have become

acquainted with this snow-capped and gold-crested 'monarch of mountains'. His statement that walking on snow hurts toes and ankles, may have been derived from actual experience (K. S.-I-11).

But there is another part of India of which Kālidāsa is particularly fond. It is Mālava and specially Ujjaini and the district around it. He could not make Ujjaini or its neighbourhood the scene of his principal action in his Kumārasambhava or the epic of the birth of the war-god, the son of S'iva and Pārvati, whose dwelling is the Himagiri, or in his Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam, the plot of which he borrowed from the Mahābhārata, which places the hermitage of the ascetic Kanva, the adoptive father of S'akuntalā, in Bijnor on the bank of the Mālini, an affluent of the Ganges ; or in his Vikramorvas'i, the plot of which is taken from the S'atapatha Brāhmana and the Purānas, and which has to locate the habitation of Urvas'i, her companion-nymphs and the Gandharvas in the Himālayas, though the capital of the king is at Pratishthānapura near Prayāga and on the confluence of the Yamunā and the Ganges.

Though the capital of the kings of the Dilipa-dynasty is Ayodhyā, yet Kālidāsa in the Raghuvams'am refers feelingly to Avanti in the svayamvara of Indumati, when he presents before us its king, whose capital Ujjayini stands on the S'iprā. But in the Meghaduta, he lavishes all the wealth of his imagination on the description of his beloved city. A Yaksha for neglect of duty has been banished to Rāmagiri or Rāmagarh hill[1] in the Central Provinces

1. Rāmagarh Hill in Surguja, (C.P.) about 75 miles north-east

by his master Kuvera, the god of riches and the lord of Alakāpuri on the Kailāsa mountain, and has thus been separated from his beloved wife. He asks the Cloud who is to be his दूत or messenger to his consort to proceed first west and then north towards the A'mrakuta or Amarakantaka hill[2] full of mango trees), the source of the Revā or Narmadā, after crossing the Mâlabhumi[3] or the table-land of Central India and fertilising it with his showers :—

त्वय्यायत्तं कृषिफलमिति भ्रूविकारानभिज्ञैः
प्रीतिस्निग्धैर्जनपदवधूलोचनैः पीयमानः ।
सद्यः सीरोत्कषणसुरभिक्षेत्रमारुह्य मालं
किंचित्पश्चाद्व्रज लघुगतिर्भूय एवोत्तरेण ॥

(more east than north) of Amarakantaka. Mr. Asita Häldär writes (in the Modern Review—1915, p.p. 379-86) that the tradition is that Räma, Sitä and Lakshmana bathed here during their exile (M. D.—I-12). There are two foot-prints said to be those of Räma, and a human figure between them near a cave.—Räma, Sita and Lakshmana are represented in one block of stone. Here are also to be found the ruins of gateways. In verse 14 of Meghaduta, Kâlidâsa uses उदङ्मुखः or turning your face northwards. Either the Poet commits a mistake regarding the exact direction or he simply means that though it has to proceed in a southwesterly direction, its face should be turned northwards, because its goal is Alakâ on mount Kailâsa, which lies towards the North. Mr. Hâldâr whom we saw at Lucknow in April, 1927, confirmed our above statement. (See also the Central India Survey of India Map, 1925).

2. About 50 miles N. W. of Bilâspura ; a northeastern peak of the Maikala Range situated near the source of the Narmadâ (Survey of India Map of Central India, 1925).

3. Mâlava is the same as Mâlabhumi or tableland.

त्वमासारप्रशमितवनोपप्लवं साधु मूर्ध्ना
वक्ष्यत्यध्वश्रमपरिगतं सानुमानाम्रकूटः ।
न क्षुद्रोऽपि प्रथमसुकृतापेक्षया संश्रयाय
प्राप्ते मित्रे भवति विमुखः किं पुनर्यस्तथोच्चैः ॥

(M. D.—I-16 and 17).

(The farmer's wives on Māla's lofty lea,
Though innocent of all coquettish art,
Will give thee loving glances ; for on thee
Depends the fragrant furrow's fruitful part.—
T. K. R.

Thence sailing north and veering to the west,
On Ámrakuta's lofty ridges rest ;
Oft have thy showers the mountain's flames
allayed
Then fear not wearied to demand its aid ;
Not e'en the vilest, when a falling friend
Solicits help it once was his to lend,
The aid that gratitude exacts denies ;
Much less the virtuous shall the claim despise.)—W

(জানি কৃষিফল অধীন তোমারি,
সরল নয়নে হরষ–ভরা
নেহারিবে তোমা জনপদ-নারী,
ভুরুর বিলাস জানেনা তারা !

সুরভিত-ভূমি সদ্য করষণে
উঠি মালক্ষেত্রে, বরষ তায় ;
উত্তরেতে, পরে ত্বরিত-গমনে,
যাও পুনঃ হয়ে সুলঘুকায় ।

তব জলধারে শান্ত দাবানল,
তাই আম্রকূট যতন করি,
পথশ্রমে তব শরীর বিকল,
রাখিবে নিশ্চয় মাথায় ধরি ;

ক্ষুদ্রও বিমুখ না হয় সর্ব্বথা,
পূর্ব্ব উপকার জাগায়ে বুকে,
স্থান দিতে মিত্রে,—তার কিবা কথা
যার উচ্চশির গগনে ঠেকে ?)—B.C.M.

Of course the cloud Could have reached its destination, Mount Kailâsa, by a short cut from Rāmagarh (in Surguja), through Bagelkhand, Allahabad and Lucknow; and hills, forests and rivers could not have made it—a cloud as it was—betake itself to a devious course, which is almost twice the length of the shortest route. But the Poet persuades it to choose a circuitous route in order that he may show it the principal cities, rivers and hills of Central India and specially Ujjaini of which he is so fond.

From A´mrakuta, the Cloud will float to the place where the Narmadā is divided into streamlets by the rugged stones at the foot of the Vindhya. Then the Cloud will proceed through a beautiful forest full of deer and kadamba and kutaja flowers to the Das´ārna country redolent with ketaki flowers and full of jambu fruit and migratory swans, the capital of which is the famous Vidis´ā[1] on the Vetravati (Betwa —an affluent of the Yamunā) close to which are the

1. It was situated on the junction of the Bes and Betwa near the

Nichaih hill [2] full of lovers and kadamba flowers, and the Naganadi,[3] the banks of which are fragrant with jasmine blossoms. Then though its road is likely

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town Bhilsâ (a station on the G.I.P. Railway, 34 miles north-east of Bhopâl) which belongs to the Mahârâjâ of Gwalior.

2. The Sanchi Hill according to M. M. H.P. S'âstri, on which are the famous Buddhistic Stupas. Sanchi belongs to the Mahamadan Principality of Bhopal. But Nichaih most probably refers to some other hill close to Bhilsâ and Besnagar—firstly because the Poet is silent about the celebrated Buddhistic monuments which according to Sir John Marshall were built on the Sanchi Hill "from the 3rd. century B. C. down to the 12th. century A. D."; secondly because the Poet's religious instinct would fight shy of converting temples into meeting-places of lovers; and thirdly because तत्र (there) signifies that the hill is at Vidis'â on the Vetravati and forms part of the City, this low hill being the quarter where are located the houses of ill fame; while the Sanchi Hill is six miles south-west of Bhilsâ and Besnagar. There are several low hills close to Besnagar. It appears that Vidis'â was notorious in the time of the Poet for being full of licentious men and women. This is probably hinted at indirectly by him when he says :—

पृथितविदिशालक्षणां राजधानीं गत्वा सद्यः कामुकत्वस्य महत् फलमपि लब्धा— as if the city were celebrated only for enabling people to attain the great fruit of licentiousness. Of course the poet adds that the cloud will be enabled to kiss its lady-love, the river Vetravati. Some scholars identify Nichaih with Udayagiri which is nearer to Bhilsâ and Besnagar than Sanchi. It is probably a low hill as its name implies in contrast with Uchchaih or the high hill A'mrakuta.

(M. D. — I — 17).

3. Most probably a poetic synonym of the river Pârvati, a tributary of the Chambal. A station on the Bhopal-Ujjayini Railway is named after the river. The river is 33 miles west of Bhopal. In the same way, the name of the capital of the Sunga Dynasty was Pushpapura or Kusumapura.

to be circuitous, if it flies southwest towards Ujjaini, as its proper route lies northwards, still it should not fail to see this city of palaces and of beautiful-eyed women on the banks of the S'iprā, after crossing the Nirvindhyā [1] and Sindhu[2]. Then follows an eloquent and graphic description of this sacred and ancient city, the abode of the god Chandis'vara Mahākāla[3]—

प्राप्यावन्तीमुदयनकथाकोविदग्रामवृद्धान्,
पूर्वोद्दिष्टामुपसर पुरीं श्रीविशालां विशालाम्। [4]
स्वल्पीभूते सुचरितफले स्वर्गिणां गां गतानां,
शेषैः पुण्यैः कृतमिव दिवः कान्तिमत्खण्डमेकम्।
दीर्घीकुर्व्वन् पटु मदकलं कूजितं सारसानां
प्रत्युषेषु स्फुटितकमलामोदमैत्रीकषायः। [5]

... ...

1. Probably the same as the Newâj (a tributary of the Chambal) cut by the Bhopal-Ujjayini Railway between Shujaulpur and Akodia, 50 and 58 miles respectively northwest of Bhopal (see the Survey Map of Central India, 1925) The Vishnupurâna (II-3-10) mentions the Nirvindhyâ as rising from the Rikshavân hills (in the Central Provinces).

2. Probably Kâlisindhu, after which a picturesque station of the Bhopal-Ujjayini Railway is named. It is a tributary of the Chambal. The river is 70 miles West of Bhopal.

3. The God S'iva is still called Mahâkâla, and is worshipped daily by numerous pilgrims, and has his temple at a short distance from the S'ipra. His ârati or evening worship is as famous as that of Vis'ves'vara of Kâs'i.

4. Vis âlâ, Ujjayini, Avanti and Ujin are synonyms. Avanti also stood for the district of which the capital was Ujjayini.

5. Still there is near the temple of Mahâkâla a tank full of blooming lotuses.

जालोद्गीर्णैरुपचितवपुः केशसंस्कारधूपै-
र्बन्धुप्रीत्या भवनशिखिभि[1]र्दत्तनृत्योपहारः ।
हर्म्येष्वस्याः कुसुमसुरभिष्वध्वखेदं नयेथाः,
लक्ष्मीं पश्यन् ललितवनितापादरागाङ्कितेषु ॥

भर्त्तुः कण्ठच्छविरिति गणैः सादरं वीक्ष्यमाणः
पुण्यं यायास्त्रिभुवनगुरोर्धाम चण्डीश्वरस्य ॥
धूतोद्यानं कुवलयरजोगन्धिभिर्गन्धवत्या[2]-
स्तोयक्रीडानिरतयुवतिस्नानतिक्तैर्मरुद्भिः ॥

अप्यन्यस्मिन् जलधर ! महाकालमासाद्य काले,
स्थातव्यं ते नयनविषयं यावदत्येति भानुः ।
कुर्वन् सन्ध्याबलिपटहतां शूलिनः श्लाघनीया-
मामन्द्राणां फलमविकलं लप्स्यसे गर्जितानाम् ॥

पादन्यासैः क्वणितरशनास्तत्र लीलावधूतैः,
रत्नच्छायाखचितवलिभिश्चामरैः क्लान्तहस्ताः ।
वेश्यास्त्वत्तो नखपदसुखान् प्राप्य वर्षाग्रबिन्दू-
नामोक्ष्यन्ते त्वयि मधुकरश्रेणिदीर्घान् कटाक्षान् ॥

पश्चादुच्चैर्भुजतरुवनं मण्डलेनाभिलीनः
सान्ध्यं तेजः प्रतिनवजवापुष्परक्तं दधानः ।
नृत्यारम्भे हर पशुपतेरार्द्रनागाजिनेच्छां
शान्तोद्वेगस्तिमितनयनं दृष्टभक्तिर्भवान्या ॥

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1. Still may be seen at this place numerous peacocks displaying their beautiful feathers.

2. A tributary of the S'iprâ. It is now called Gandhanâlâ. What was a beautiful stream redolent with the fragrance of lotuses has now become — दुर्गन्धवती — or a stinking drain, as M. M. H. P. S'âstri says.

गच्छन्तीनां रमणवसतिं योषितां तत्र नक्तं
रुद्धालोके नरपतिपथे सूचिभेद्यैस्तमोभिः ।
सौदामिन्या कनकनिकषस्निग्धया दर्शयोर्वीं
तोयोत्सर्गस्तनितमुखरो मा च भूर्विक्लवास्ताः[1] ॥

M.D.—I-31 to 38.

(Behold the city whose immortal fame,
Glows in Avanti's or Vis'ālā's name ?
Renowned for deeds that worth and love inspire
And bards to paint them with poetic fire:
The fairest portion of celestial birth,
Of Indra's paradise transferred to earth;
The last reward to acts austerest given,
The only recompense then left to heaven.
Here as the early Zephyrs waft along,
In swelling harmony the woodland song,
They scatter sweetness from the fragrant flower,
That joyful opens to the morning hour;

... ...

Here should thy spirit with thy toils decay,
Rest from the labours of the wearying way,
Round every house the flowery fragrance spreads;
O'er every floor the painted footstep treads ;
Breathed through each casement swell the scent-
ed air,
Soft odours shaken from dishevelled hair ;
Pleased on each terrace dancing with delight
The friendly peacock hail thy grateful flight,

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1. For a similar idea—(घनशब्दविक्लवाः)—see K. S.—IV-11.

Delay then, certain in Ujjain to find
All that restores the frame or cheers the mind.
Hence with new zeal to S'iva homage pay,
The God whom earth, and hell and heaven obey.
The choir who tend his holy fane shall view,
With awe in thee his neck's celestial blue;
Soft through the rustling grove the fragrant gale
Shall sweets from Gandhavati's fount exhale:
Where with rich dust the lotus-blossoms teem,
And youthful beauties frolic in the stream.
Here, till the sun has vanished in the west,
Till evening brings its sacred ritual, rest.
Then reap the recompense of holy prayer,
Like drums thy thunders echoing in the air.—W.
The women there, whose girdles long have tinkled
In answer to the dance, whose hands yet seize
And wave their fans with lustrous gems besprink-
ed,
Will feel thine early drops that soothe and please,
And recompense thee from black eyes like cluster-
ing bees—T.K.R..
Nay more Bhavāni shall herself approve,
And pay thy services with looks of love;
When as her S'iva's twilight rites begin,
And he would clothe him in the reeking skin,
He deems thy form the sanguinary hide,
And casts his elephant-attire aside;
For at his shoulders like a dusky robe,
Mantling impends thy vast and shadowy globe;
Where ample forests, stretched its skirts below,
Projecting trees like dangling limbs bestow;

And vermil roses fiercely blooming shed
Their reflected glow, their blood-resembling red.—W.
Where women steal to rendezvous by night,
Through darkness that a needle might divide,
Show them the road with lightning-flashes
bright,
As golden streaks upon the touchstone's side—
But rain and thunder not, lest thy be terrified. .)
—T. K. R. .

(প্রবেশি অবন্তী, যথা বৃদ্ধগণ
বৎসরাজ কথা জানে সকলে,
বিশালা-নগরী করহে গমন
অতুল সম্পদে জগতী-তলে ;

ফুরাইলে প্রায় স্বর্গে পুণ্য-ফল
ফিরে আসাকালে মরত 'পরি,
শেষ পুণ্যে সাধু যেন বা উজল
ত্রিদিবের খণ্ড এনেছে হরি !

সানন্দ-কাকলি সারস-কূজন
করি পুষ্টতর মধুরতায়,
উষার প্রফুল্ল কমল-কানন
চুমি মৃদুশ্বাসে সুরভি-কায়,

... ...

বাতায়ন-স্রুত কুন্তল-রচন
ধূমে পুষ্ট করি কৃশিত দেহে,
পোষা ময়ূরের হরষ-নর্ত্তন
(প্রীতি-উপহার) গ্রহিয়া স্নেহে,

শ্রম-দূর তরে গৃহ-চূড়ে পশে',
ফুল-বাসে ভরা নেহার যবে
রাঙ্গা দাগ চারু-চরণ-পরশে,
দেখ কি সৌভাগ্য উজীন ধরে।

চণ্ডীশ্বর-ধাম পবিত্র মন্দির
যাও, তারপর, হরষ-মন,
হর-কণ্ঠ-নীল তোমার শরীর
হেরিবে সাদরে প্রমথ-গণ ;
যেথা, কেলিরত গন্ধবতী-জলে
যুবতী-অঙ্গের সৌরভ হরি,
বহে যায় লুটি পদ্ম-পরিমলে,
উদ্যান-লতায় কাঁপায়ে ধীরি।

যাবত না ভানু ছাড়ায়ে নয়ন
অস্তগিরি পাশে লুকায়ে যায়,
সেকাল অবধি রহিও, হে ঘন,
মহাকাল-ধামে, কহি তোমায় ;
সন্ধ্যাপূজা-কালে দেব পিনাকীর
সুমন্দ মন্দ্রণে দামামাধ্বনি
করি, ধন্য করো গর্জ্জন গভীর,
কৃত-কৃতার্থ আপনা গণি।

লীলা-রাগ-রঙ্গে চরণ-ক্ষেপণে
নিতম্বে শিঞ্জিত রসনা-ভার,
মণিময়-দণ্ড-চামর-চালনে
উপজিত শ্রম বাহুলতার,

বারনারী-গণ শ্রম-খেদ-হারী
নব জল-কণা তোমার পেয়ে,
ভ্রমরের শ্রেণী কটাক্ষে বিথারি,
হানিবে অপাঙ্গ তোমায় চেয়ে।

উচ্চশাখা-তরু কানন ছাইয়ে
মণ্ডল-আকারে ছাড়ায়ে কায়,
সান্ধ্য নব-জবা-কিরণ মাখিয়ে
রুধিরার্দ্র গজ-অজিন-প্রায়[1]
ভ্রতিলে, জলদ, বিরাট নটনে
গণিবেন শূলী ভ্রমেতে তোমা
গজাসুর-চর্ম্ম ;—প্রসন্ন নয়নে
দেখিবেন তব ভকতি উমা।

নিশিতে যখন প্রেম-উন্মাদিনী
যেতেছে রমণী প্রিয়ের পাশে,
ধরণীর মুখ ঢেকেছে যামিনী,
সূচি-ভেদ্য ঘোর তিমির-বাসে,
নিকষে কনক-রেখার মতন,
মৃদু-দামিনীতে দেখায়ো ধরা,
ঢেলোনাক বারি, করোনা গর্জ্জন,—
তারা যে অবলা, ভয়ে কাতরা। B.C.M. .

King Udayana was, as Dr. L. Sarup says,'the king Arthur of Indian Literature, the fascinating hero of romance, the prince-charming of fairy tales'. 'The floating mass of oral tradition, was utilised in Bri-

1. S'iva covering himself with the skin of Gajâsura danced his *tândava* dance.

hat Kathâmanjari and Kathāsaritsāgara and later on by Bhâsa. Pradyota (or Chanda-mahāsena) king of Ujjaini has a daughter named Vāsavadattā who sees king Udayana of Vatsa in a dream, becomes enamoured of him, manages to apprise him of her love, and is carried off by him.

After leaving Ujjaini the Cloud is to proceed towards its goal. It will cross the limpid river Gambhirā[1] full of frisking bright small fishes, with its banks over-grown with drooping canes, and passing over lines of wild fig-trees, will arrive at Devagiri (Devagar situated south of the Chambal) on which small hill, scarcely two hundred feet high is still a temple of Skanda or Kârtikeya,[2]. After worshipping the son of S'iva with showers of blossoms wet with the water of the celestial Ganges and making his peacock dance with its sonorous thunder-sound, the Cloud will move towards the Charmanvati, *literally*; skinbearing'—(Chambal) which is so named for the cowsacrifice of Rantideva,an ancient king of Das'apur.-

त्वय्यादातुं जलमवनते शार्ङ्गिणो वर्णचौरे
तस्याः सिन्धोः पृथुमपि तनुं दूरभावात् प्रवाहम् ।

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1. A tributary of the S'iprâ, about 10 miles west of Ujjayini (See the Survey-map of Central India, 1925)-

2. J. B. O. R. S—Vol I—Part II. But the place which must be situated between the Gambhirâ and the Sâva or Sau or Sivadâ, a tributary of the Chambal on which Mandasor stands, is not shown in the Central India Survey-map of 1925. In the map published by the Gwalior State there is, however, a place called Devagarh about 56 miles south-east of Ujjayini. But Kâlidâsa probably does not mean this Devagarh, because the Cloud is to proceed north-west from Ujjayini to Das'apura after crossing the Gambhirâ.

प्रेक्षिषन्ते गगनगतयो नूनमावर्ज्य दृष्टी-
रेकं मुक्तागुणमिव भुवः स्थूलमध्येन्द्रनीलम् ॥M.D.-I-47.

(Narrow the river seems from heaven's blue;
And gods above, who see her dainty line
Matched, when thou drinkest, with thy darker hue
Will think they see a pearly necklace twine
Round earth, with one great sapphire in its midst ashine.)—T. K. R.

(তদুপরি বারি-গ্রহণ কারণে,
শ্যাম-নীল-তনু ভাতিবে যবে,
দূর-ব্যোম-চর অমরনয়নে
মরি কিবা শোভা বিথার হবে !
দূরতায় কৃশ বিশাল তটিনী,
যেন একনর মুকুতামালা,
মাঝে গাঁথা স্থূল ইন্দ্রনীলমণি,
ধরণীর বুক করে উজালা)—B. C. M.

Then the Poet devotes one stanza to the description of Das'apur, Das'or or Mandasor[1]—

तामुत्तीर्य व्रज परिचितभ्रूलताविभ्रमाणां
पक्ष्मोत्क्षेपादुपरिविलसत्कृष्णशारप्रभाणाम् ।
कुन्दक्षेपानुगमधुकरश्रीमुषामात्मबिम्बं
पात्रीकुर्व्वन्दशपुरवधूनेत्रकौतूहलानाम् ॥

M. D.—I—48.

(The streamlet traversed, to the eager sight,
Of Das'apura's fair impart delight,

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1. An important town of Central India about 80 miles north-west of Ujjaini.

Welcomed with looks that sparkling eyes bestow,
Whose arching brows like graceful creepers glow,
Whose upturned lashes to thy lofty way
The pearly ball and pupil dark display,
Such contrast as the lovely kunda shews,
When the black-bee sits pleased amidst her snows.)

W.

(করিও গমন, অতিক্রমি তায়,
দশপুর-ধামে, তাহার পরে ;
পুরযুবতীরা দেখিবে তোমায়
মোহন নয়নে সোহাগ করে ;
কি ভুরুর খেলা, পক্ষ্ম-রাজি ঘন,
ডাগর আঁখিতে কি কাল তারা,
উপরে চাহিতে ঢল ঢল, যেন
সচঞ্চল কুন্দে ভ্রমর-পারা ।)—B.C.M.

From Daśapur the Cloud proceeds due north to Brahmâvarta (between the Sarasvati and Drishadvati : South-eastern Panjab) and to Kurukshetra, close to and north of Brahmâvarta, where in the memorable war between the Kurus and Pāndavas, Arjuna showered countless arrows on the heads of Kaurava warriors. After purifying its heart, without changing its complexion, with the water of the sacred river Sarasvati, it will fly towards Mount Kankhal near Haridvāra, where Jahnu's daughter (the Ganges) meanders down from the Himālayas and laughs with its foam; and if the Cloud chooses to drink her water pure as crystal, then its shadow moving over the stream, will make the river look as beautiful as

it does at Prayāga—the confluence of the Yamunā and the Gangā. Then after ascending the slopes of the grand and charming Himālayas, the Cloud will proceed to Mānas-sarovara, and then to mount Kailāsa (north of the lake) on which the city of Alakā, the home of the pining Yaksha and his desolate wife, is situated.

We have seen that Kālidāsa makes the Cloud betake itself to a circuitous route only for the purpose of showing to it the towns, streams, streamlets, hills and hillocks of Mālwā and specially the city of Ujjaini, to which alone he devotes thirteen stanzas or fifty-two lines of verse. There is not the least doubt that for some reason or other the Poet loved this ancient and memorable city.

The district round the Vindhya hills is the beloved region of romance to the heart of the youthful Kālidāsa. Its clouds strike the mountain with their girdle of lightning—विद्युद्दाम्ना मेघराजीव विन्ध्यम् (M. M.-III—162), In the description of the rainy season in his Ritusamhāra, he refers to the Vindhya mountain (वैन्ध्यानि वनानि) in the eighth and again in the twentyseventh verse, which is quoted below—

जलभरनमितानामाश्रयोऽस्माकमुच्चै-
रयमिति जलसेकैस्तोयदास्तोयनम्राः ।
अतिशयपरुषाभिर्ग्रीष्मवह्नेः शिखाभिः
समुपजनिततापं ह्लादयन्तीव विन्ध्यम् ॥

(R. S.—27)

(Borne down by weight of waters, "Let us rest
On yonder heights" thus say the clouds—

Bent by their burden, when their gentle showers
Fall on Vindhya's mount, and pleasure bring
To parched-up rocks, long tortured by the ray—
The cruel flame shed by the summer's fire.)—S. J.

('এই উচ্চ নগরাজ মোদের আশ্রয়,'
তোয়ভরে নতহয়ে বলি' মেঘচয়,
বর্ষে বারি বিন্ধ্য-অদ্রি-শিখর উপরি;
নিদাঘের অগ্নি নাশি আহ্লাদয় গিরি।)

In Raghuvams'a the Poet in describing Rāma's inauguration after his return from exile says—

तस्यापतन् मूर्ध्नि जलानि जिष्णोर्विन्ध्यस्य मेघप्रभवा इवापः ।

(R.V.-XIV-8)

(Holy water was poured on the head of Rāma, as water from clouds falls on that of Vindhya.)

The close resemblance between the description of spring in his Kumārasambhava and that in his Ritusamhāra—as'oka and karnikāra flowers, mango-blossoms, bees, male cuckoos &c. being present in both (K.S.-III-26 to 39 and R.S.-Spring)—the latter of which from its references to the Vindhyas (see above) must have been composed in this region, indicates the fact that though the Poet might have undertaken in connexion with his pilgrimage a journey to the Himālayas, he was more familiar with Central India than with the Himālayan region. He makes Chitralekhā tell Urvas'i after they have arrived at Pururavā's palace standing on the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā, that it looks splendid like the summit of

Kailāsa mountain reflected on the water of the Yamunā at night. We, however, know that the Yamunā, rises at a considerable distance to the west of Kailāsa (V.V.-III-39).

Palâsa trees (K. S-II1-29) may still be seen relieving the monotony of the G. I, P. line with their saffron blossoms. Tanks full of lotuses (K. S-II-2, 33) are common in Mâlwa—one may still be found adding to the picturesqueness of the modern town of Ujjaini near the celebrated temple of Mahâkâla.

M. M. H. P. S'âstri[1] is of opinion thet the six seasons are distinctly perceptible only in Western Mâlwā, and nowhere else in India ; that lions and elephants were hunted in this tract even in the middle of the nineteenth century, that rice was formerly one of its important food-crops, and that the fruit-trees, flower-plants and animals described in Kālidâsa's Ritusamhāra are found together only in this district, and that Priyangu and Kamkeli are its characteristic creepers.

From the frequent reference to the physical phenomena of the Vindhyas in the Pcet's works, from the description in his Ritusamhāra of the six seasons with their characteristic plants, flowers and animals found *together* only in this area, from his detailed and accurate description of the hills, rivers, rivulets, temples cities and towns of Central India in his Meghaduta, and from his making Vidis'ā (a famous city in his time), the scene of his first play Mālavikāgnimitram we may

1. J. B. O. R S.—Vol. I—Pt. II.

reasonably conclude that this part of Bhāratavarsha was the land of his nurture, was the place of the composition of most (if not all) of his works and was to him "a spot of earth, supremely blest, a dearer, sweeter spot than all the rest".

But the immortal Bard, whose powerful rhymes have outlived the 'marble and the gilded monuments of princes', and whose works have obtained everywhere their due meed of praise, has really the whole world for his 'native land'—

"Go where he will, the wise man is at home,
His hearth the earth, his hall the azure dome."[1]

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1. Emerson.

Chapter V.

The Evidence of Bra'hmanic Revival.

'He worshipped as his fathers did,
And kept the faith of childish days,
And howsoe'er he strayed or slid,
He loved the good old ways'—

—W*hittier.*

The earlier sense of the word *Brahman* is prayer, then holiness as manifested in prayer ,priest, and sacrifice,and later on the holy principle animating Nature.1

The four Vedas Rik, Sāma, Yajur, and Atharva are concerned more or less with sacrifices. They are collections or Samhitās of hymns and prayers mostly in verse, composed chiefly for being uttered along with the pressing and offering of either the Soma juice or melted butter (घृतं) to the gods[2]. These sacrificial ceremonials were elaborated in the Brāhmanas(800—500B.C.) which are prosaic and written in prose[3]. These sacrificial details were later on condensed in the Sutras (500—200 B.C) which are of two kinds—Srauta (chiefly based on the Brāhmanas) Sutras dealng with the ritual of greater sacrifices, and Grihya Sutras or house-aphorisms dealing with the rites to be performed with the domestic fire in daily life [4]. In the period of Brâhmanas the

1 to 4—S. L. .

system of the four castes assumed a definite shape, furnishing the frame within which the highly complex network of castes of today has been developed[1]. In that system, the priesthood, who even in the Vedic period, had occupied an influential position, secured for themselves dominant power[2] .

During the Brāhmana and Sutra periods, when the Brâhmans or the priesthood were, by condensing and arranging the ritual and stereotyping the caste-system strengthening their position in the Hindu society, their supremacy was being undermined by the philosophical systems or Upanishads, which are really continuations of the jnānakānda of the Brāhmaṇas, in which the highest end of human existence is conceived to be release from earthly life through the absorption of the Individual Soul in the Universal Soul, which is to be attained by means of correct knowledge. Thus the acquisition of true knowledge was regarded as more important than the performance of sacrifices, with which the supremacy of the Brāhmans was closely associated.

The monism of the Upanishads, which identifies the individual soul with Brāhman or the Universal Soul, aroused the opposition of Kapila, tho founder of Sāmkhya Philosophy. His teaching is entirely dualistic, admitting only two things, both without beginning and end, but essentially different : Prakriti i. e. Matter and Purusha or numerous Individual Souls [3]. It denies the existence of Godhead, because firstly if there were one, there would not be so much misery in the world, and secondly there is no cogent proof of His existence,

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1 to 3—S. L..

perception being the criterion by which all hypotheses are to be scrutinised according to this system of Philosophy. 'The Soul itself possesses no attributes and can be described negatively'.[1] Matter possesses within itself the three principles of its evolution and diversification—Sattva Guna (the principle of virtue, light and delight), Rajas Guna (the principle of activity and pain), and Tamas Guna(the principle of darkness, ignorance and apathy). One Soul is distinct from another only on account of its subtle body (सूक्ष्मशरीरं), which is the vehicle of its merit and demerit according to its Karma or Work, and accompanies the Soul (whose mental operations are due to the activity of its subtle body) in its transmigration from one gross body to another. Salvation or the absolute cessation of pain or misery, which abounds in this world, and which is caused by these transmigrations, can be obtained only by the acquisition of the knowledge that there is absolute distinction between Soul and Matter ; and when this true knowledge is obtained, then the subtle body will be dissolved and the Soul will continue, becoming finally isolated, to exist individually, but in complete unconsciousness.[2] This denial of the Supreme God and the exaltation of knowledge over ritual were prejudicial to Brāhmanism.

But the greatest blow to Brāhmanism was struck by the religion of Gautama Buddha, which was evolved from Sāmkhya Philosophy. There are three principal points of agreement between the two : the

1 and 2—S. L. .

denial of the existence of God, the prevalence of misery, and the doctrine of Karma causing transmigration and producing misery. Though Sāmkhya makes the individual Soul *almost* a nonentity, it does not deny its existence ; but Buddhism denies the existence of the Soul itself, though Buddha himself did not decide the question, whether Nirvāna is complete extinction or an unending state of unconscious bliss.[1] As in Katha Upanishad, so in Buddhism, the misery of worldly existence being due to desire, one can free oneself from misery by uprooting one's desire and thus rendering the rebirth of the subtle body (whether accompanied by the Soul or not, as some Buddhists deny the existence of the Soul) impossible. Desire can be uprooted by means of righteous conduct or eightfold path : right view (सम्यग्दृष्टिः), right resolve (सम्यक्सङ्कल्पः), right speech (सम्यग्वाक्), right action (सम्यक्कर्म्मान्तः) right living (सम्यगाजीवः), right effort (सम्यग्वायामः), right remembrance or self-knowledge (सम्यक्स्मृतिः) and right contemplation (सम्यक्—समाधिश्रः)[2] It was this ethical aspect of Buddhism that, with the strenuous efforts of the emperor Aśoka (272-32 B.C.) and the missionaries, enabled it to achieve success among the masses, to whom it was communicated by means of preaching and by means of inscriptions in a language capable of being easily understood by them. Though the Buddhists denounced caste-distinctions, which they regarded as worthless, they left the domestic ceremonies of their.

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1. S. L. .
2. P. H. I. .

followers to be performed according to Vedic rites. But Buddhism was emphatically a revolt against the sacrificial system of the Brâhmans and their Vedas, the authority of which it denied. This was the cause of the hostility between it and Brāhmanism.[1] Though As'oka inculcated respect for both S'ramans or Buddhist ascetics and Brâhmans, he prohibited animal sacrifice and taught that right conduct was the only way to salvation. Though Brāhmanism was revived in the Gupta Period, most of the Vedic rituals received a death-blow not only at the hands of the Buddhists generally, but of As'oka particularly, and became obsolete for ever.[2]

The Kings of the S'unga Dynasty (185-73 B. C.) specially Pushyamitra, its founder, were regarded by the Buddhists as their persecutors. From the Mahābhāshya of Patanjali, it appears that he was a staunch adherent of Brâhmanism, and performed sacrifices [3], and in the Mālavikāgnimitram of Kālidāsa there is a reference to his celebration of As'vamedha. The frequent mention of As'vamedha and similar sacrifices by Kālidâsa, e. g., the As'vamedha of Pushyamitra in the Mālavikāgnimitram, ninetynine As'vamedhas of Dilipa, the Vis'vajit sacrifice, after the world-conquest, of Raghu, and the As'vamedhas of Das'aratha, Rama and Atithi in the Raghuvams'am, indicates two things, namely the revival of Brāhmanism, of which the Poet was the finest exponent, and the

1. P. H. I.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

imperial sovereignty of his patrons, the Guptas. The Kanvâyanas (73-28 B. C.) who succeeded the S'ungas and the Andhras (240 B. C—225 A. D.) who ruled in Mahārâshtra, were Hindus, and were upholders of Brâhmanism. But most of the foreign rulers—the Yavanas (Greeks) the Parthians, the S'akas (the Khatrapas, Mahā-khatrapas, and the Kushānas)—were at least indifferent to the Brāhmanical creed, while Buddhism, which was also tolerated by them, continued to flourish on account of the impetus given to it by As'oka, on account of its excellent monastic and missionary organisation, and on account of its precepts being conveyed to the masses in a language capable of being thoroughly understood by them. In a passage in the code of Manu, the foreign tribes Paundrakas, Dravidas, Yavanas, S'akas and Pahlavas (Parthians) &c. are stated to have been originally Kshatriyas and later on to have been reduced to the status of S'udras for their defiance of the Brāhmans and discontinuance of religious rites.—

शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥
पौण्ड्रकाश्चौडद्रविडाः काम्वोजयवनाः शकाः ।
पारदापह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥

(Manu—X—43 and 44).

'Brâhmanādars'anena' means 'for not seeing or coming in contact with, the Brāhmans,' and 'brishalatvam' signifies 's'udratvam' or the condition of a S'udrâ.

In the Anus'âsanika Book (Chap. XXXIII) of the

Mahābhārata, the Patriarch Bhishma says to his grandson Yudhishthira that the highest duty of the King is to worship the Brāhmans, and that the Kshatriyas like the S'akas, Yavanas, and Kāmbojas have become S'udras for their disobedience to the Brāhmans—

शका यवनकाम्वोजास्तास्ताः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं परिगता ब्राह्मणानामदर्शनात् ॥

These passages, of course, are interpolations and have been inserted by the Brāhmans to indicate the apathy of the foreign rulers to their creed and ritual.

That Hinduism, shorn of its narrowing ritual, which received almost a death-blow in the hands of As'oka and Buddhistic monks, was capable, inspite of its being closely associated with a difficult language like Sanskrit, of becoming a universal religion, is proved by the fact that several foreign potentates and high officials became converts to Hinduism. Mr. Vincent Smith in the Chapter, which ends with the statement that the invasions of India by Greek Kings and their prolonged occupation of the Punjab and neighbouring regions 'had extremely little effect in hellenising the country', states that the Greek Heliodorus (son of Dios), who had become a Bhāgavata or follower of Vishnu, and who was the ambassador of the Greek King, Antialkidas of Taxilā, at the court of Bhagabhadra Kâs'iputra or son of Kâs'i erected a Garudadhvaja column in honour of the god Vishnu at Besnagar near Bhilsā in Central India between 140 and 130 B. C. . [1]

1. E. H. I., p. p. 238 N. & 239; and B. P. R., part II, p. 190.

The second Kushāna Emperor Wema-Kadphises (C. 100 A. D.) was a devotee of S'iva. Though his son, the famous emperor Kaniska (C. 78 A. D.) and his successors Huvishka and Vasishhka or Vāsudeva were tolerant of all religions—Greek, Persian, Hindu and Buddhistic, as their coins show, yet Kanishka, probably in the latter part of his reign, became a confirmed Buddhist and an ardent patron of the religion of Sakamana Boddo or S'ākyamuni Buddha.

Some of the S'aka satraps of Surāshtra and Mālwā were probably Hindus, as is indicated by their adoption of the name of the god Rudra as a component part of their names—Rudradāmana I (about 128 A. D.), his son Rudrasimha I (about 180 A. D.), his son Rudrasena I (about 199 A. D.) &c. Not only were some of the foreign rulers adherents of Brāhmanism, but they also adopted pure Sanskrit as the vehicle of their inscriptions. Rudradāmana's Girnar inscription, which is associated with his restoration of the Sudars'ana Lake in Kathiawar, refers to his ability to compose or at least to his appreciation of good Sanskrit in both prose and verse.

In the south, we have the inscriptions of a ruler of Kānchi of Hāritiputra S'ātakarni and of a King of Banayasi of the early part of the third century A.D., which record grants of land to Brāhmans. Though Brāhmanism did not die out, yet Buddhism became the predominant creed, as almost all the structures of the period between the third century B. C. and the fourth century A. D., when Brāhmanism revived with the ascendancy of the Guptas, were Buddhistic

stupas or chaityas (smaller stupas) or hemispherical buildings containing relics of Buddha or of saints, and monasteries and sculptures representing Buddhistic sacred objects and events associated with Buddha, for example, those at Sanchi (150 B. C.—1200 A. D.) in Bhupal (See p 160) and at Bharut (250—150 B. C.) between Allahabad and Jabbalpur, and the cave-temples in Mahārāshtra, which began to be excavated from about 50 B. C. to 200 A. D. [1].

The scene changed with the accession of the Gupta King Chandragupta I, the first paramount Hindu sovereign of Āryyāvarta in 320 A. D. . The most potent cause of the decline of Brāhmanism was the absence of powerful Hindu potentates. From 350 to 529 A. D., i. e., for nearly two centuries, the big majority of the inscriptions of the Gupta Period relate to the Brāhmanic gods Śiva, Vishnu, the Sun and Kārtikeya, and to grants of lands to Brāhmans, and were composed in pure Sanskrit. Only a few of the inscriptions, though composed in pure Sanskrit, were Buddhistic. Though the Gupta sovereigns were orthodox Hindus—most of them were Vaishnavas—they were tolerant towards the Buddhists. Buddhism began to decline for the same reason, namely the absence of powerful royal patrons, as had formerly led to the decadence of Brāhmanism.

Though the Buddhists tried their best to prevent the decay of their religion in India, and adopted Sanskrit like the Hindus in their inscriptions and religious books, and substituting Mahāyānism (the

1. P. H. I. .

great vehicle) for Hinayānism (the little vehicle) began to worship the images of Buddha and Bodhisatvas, as the Hindus worshipped their gods and goddesses, yet they could not retard the ebb-tide which had set in, and which led ultimately to the virtual disappearance of their religion from the land of its origin.

Samudragupta (330-380 A. D.) revived after his extensive conquests the As'vamedha or horse-sacrifice, which is stated in ChandraguptaII's Mathurā inscription and Skandagupta's Bihar and Bhitari incriptions as having gone out of use for a long time. Samudragupta considered this achievement so important that he issued gold coins bearing on their obverse sides the representation of a horse let loose and of the sacrificial altar and the legend 'As'vamedha-parākrama' or 'one who has become formidable on account of his horse-sacrifice.' The carved stone-horse with an inscription on its neck in the Lucknow Museum may be another memorial of his triumph. Similar coins were struck by Kumāragupta I and bore on the reverse the words 'A'svamedha-Mahendra.'. "Chandragupta II", Mr. V. Smith says, "must have been specially religious. . His minister in the Udayagiri inscription (Fleet, C. I. No. 6, p. 35) describes him as Rājādhirājarshi, a combination of King and Rishi".[1] Chandragupta II, who has been described by the Poet under the designation of the Emperor of Magadha (R. V,-VI—21 to 24), is credited with the performance of numerous sacrifices (See p. 85.)

1. E. H. I.—p. 320 n. .

The Brâhmans did not rely solely on the patronage of their powerful sovereigns for consolidating their sacerdotal authority. They tried their best to make Hinduism popular. The Sutras of the post-Vedic Period were systematised into Smritis or codes of laws and were rendered intelligible and made applicable to all Brâhmanic Hindus. The epics Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana and the Purānas were interpolated and sometimes recast in such a way as to engender among the masses the belief that the Brâhmans were the gods' elect, and that the gods—to each of whom a Purāna was assigned—they worshipped, and the rites with which they were worshipped, had existed from the creation of the world. The Brāhmans also made strenuous efforts to place their creed on a philosophical basis and to show that the religion of their opponents had no such basis or had only a rotten one.

The revival of the worship of Brāhmanic gods and important Brāhmanic sacrificial rites, the universal adoption of pure Sanskrit in inscriptions on stone and metal instead of Pāli or Prākrit, and the popularisation of the S'âstras, indicate beyond doubt, as Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar says, vigorous Brāhmanic revival and renovation. That Kâlidāsa flourished during the early years of this revival, is evident from his pointed references in his works to important sacrificial rites, and to the worship of the gods, S'iva, Vishnu, Kārtikeya and the Sun, who are also mentioned in the inscriptions of the Gupta Period, and to the profound respect which is to be accorded by the

other castes to the Brāhmans. Their words are to be regarded as sacred as those of the S'āstras. They are never to be sent away empty-handed. Raghu has spent his all in his gifts to Brāhmans in his Vis'vajit sacrifice. Kautsa, a Brāhman, comes to him for millions of gold coins to be paid by him to his preceptor for his tuition. The king must somehow find out the money, though his treasury is empty.

In his Mālavikāgnimitram, Kālidāsa refers to the As'vamedha, which Vasumitra, the son of Agnimitra, the King of Vidisā, enabled his grand-father Pushyamitra or Pushpamitra to perform, by his defeat of the Greeks, who had captured his grand-father's sacrificial horse. In the Raghuvams'a the Poet alludes to Dilipa's performance of ninetynine As'vamedhas and to Raghu's celebration of his Vis'vajit Yajna after his world-conquest. He also refers to Das'aratha's, Rāmachandra's and Atithi's celebration of the As'vamedha with due ostentation. The first act of Kus'a after his coming from Kus'āvati to the renovated Ayodhyā, is to celebrate a worship with animal sacrifice—

ततः सपर्यां सपशूपहारां पुरः परार्घ्यप्रतिमागृहायाः।
उपोषितैर्वास्तुविधानविद्भिर्निर्वर्तयामास रघुप्रवीरः ॥

R. V—XVI-39.

(After which Kus'a performed the house-entering ceremony with the sacrifice of animals and with the aid of fasting priests in the chief temples of the city).

Animal sacrifices are also referred to by the fisherman accused of stealing Dushmanta's ring—

पशुमारणकर्मदारुणः अनुकम्पामृदुः अपि श्रोत्रियः—a s'rotriya (i.e., a

Brâhman versed in Vedic rites), though kindhearted by nature, kills animals cruelly for sacrifices (A. S., Prelude to Act VI.—10).

Kumâragupta I, whom Kālidāsa probably had in mind, when he described Kus'a, also celebrated a horse-sacrifice with due pomp, and struck coins as a memento. The Poet in his zeal for Brāhmanic revival does not omit, in his description of the river Charmanvati or Chambal in his Meghaduta, even Rantideva's gomedha or cow-sacrifice, which must have become obsolete and repugnant to the Hindus of his time.

Kālidāsa at the beginning of almost all his works invokes his Ishtadevatā, Is'vara or S'iva, whom he devoutly worshipped. He composed his epic Kumārasambhava to exalt his great God, his consort the Goddess Pārvati, and their son Kumāra, Skanda, or Kārtikeya, the god of War. In Meghaduta, he refers in glowing language to Chandis'vara Mahes'vara of Mahākala at Ujjayini, to S'aravanabhava (Kārtikeya born in a reed-forest) at Devagiri and again to Tryamvaka or S'iva on Mount Kailâsa. Vishnu, though not the god of his heart, is the object of the Poet's deep reverence. There are many references to this deity in his works. In the person of Râma of the race of Raghu he exalts Vishnu in his great epic. He also refers to the worship of the Sun in his Vikramorvas'i, when he describes Pururavas at the beginning of the play as returning from his worship of the God of the Day,—just when the nymph Urvas'i has been carried away by the demon

Kes´i. Other gods of the Hindu pantheon like Brahmā and Agni are not neglected.

That pilgrimage to holy places, an important constituent of Brāhmanic religion, was revived, is evident from Kalidasa's mention of sacred sites, which the Cloud in his Meghaduta has to traverse during his journey from Rāmagiri to Alakā, the home of the Yaksha's love-lorn Beloved and himself. Mahākāla and Devagiri have already been mentioned. Kālidāsa adds to the list Kurukshetra and Kankhala, the former associated with the famous war of the Mahābhāratā and the latter (near Haridvāra) sanctified by the descent of the Bhāgirathi from the heights of the Himālayas to the plains of Bhāratavarsha. In Abhijnāna-S´akuntalam the sage Kanva is described as being absent from his hermitage on a pilgrimage during the time Dushmanta comes to it and marries Sakuntalā.

As Kālidāsa mentions in his religious enthusiasm even the gomedha or cow-sacrifice of Rantideva, as a great achievement on the part of the monarch, so he expresses his appreciation of the conduct of Rāma, who executes a S'udra for his penance, on the complaint of a Brāhman, who has come to his court with a dead child, because Rāma finds out after due enquiry that the premature death of the child and the other ills in his kingdom have all been due to this notorious act of sacrilege, namely, the S´udra's performance of tapasyā (austerities) to which only the Brāhmans are entitled. It may be said that Kālidāsa is bound to mention this incident as it occurs in the Rāmāyana, on which his Raghuvams´a is based; but

it may be stated in reply that the Poet nowhere follows Vālmiki faithfully.

Though Kâlidāsa's mention and appreciation of Rāma's conduct point to his caste-bigotry, yet we should not be blind to the fact that this accomplished scholar was tolerant like his patrons, the majority of whom were orthodox Bhāgavatas or Vaishnavas, towards the adherents of other religions. The Poet, though he was a staunch S'aiva, does not in any of his works say anything against the followers of other creeds, for example, the Buddhists of his time, nor does he exhibit except in the instance noted above, his caste-bigotry. A learned man like Kâlidāsa knew that there were frequent inter-caste marriages. Dushmanta suspects, for instance, S'akuntalâ to be the daughter of Kanva and a woman of a non-Brāhman caste (A.S.-I-6.) The Poet also knew that the fusion of the Hindus with foreign nations professing different religions, which had begun several centuries earlier, even before the time of Chandragupta Mauryya, who married a Greek princess, laid the axe at the root of rigid caste and sect distinctions, and led Brāhmanic scholars to invent the fiction that these foreign tribes had been Kshatriyas originally, but became S'udras for their defiance of the Brāhmans and of their rites and customs.

From the above it will be clear that Kālidāsa was not only the product of Brâhmanism with its merits and demerits, but also its staunch champion, who helped with his genius and his pen its revival in Bhāratavarsha.

We must, however, understand the true impliaction of the Brâhmanic revival. Since the time of A'soka, except during the short-lasting suzerainty of the S'ungas the decline of Brâhmanism had connoted only the abolition of animal sacrifices, equal respect, if not more, being accorded to S'ramans and Brahmans, the employment of Prâkrit in religious literature and inscriptions instead of Sanskrit, and the absence of powerful Brāhmanic patrons. Buddhism as a religious creed was only an offshoot of Brāhmanism and may be regarded as the practical application of a new system of Hindu Philosophy. That was the reason why the Gupta sovereigns like Samudragupta were tolerant of Buddhism,[1] why Buddha became in course of time one of the incarnations of Vishnu, why there was a close resemblance between Mahīyānism and Pauranic Hinduism and why like several other new Hindu creeds Buddhism became merged later on, as Mr. Havell says, 'in the ocean of Indian thought.'. There is some resemblance between this Brāhmanic revival in the Gupta Age and the Protestant reawakening in the Elizabethan period. The Roman Catholic supremacy in the reign of Mary (1553-58) meant not only the temporary ascendancy of Roman Catholicism, but also of foreigners like Philip II and Jesuits. The accession of Elizabeth and her most important achievement, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, sent a thrill of patriotic delight throughout

1. Fahien bears testimony to the fact that during the Gupta ascendancy the Buddhists enjoyed perfect freedom of worship and full liberty to endow their sacred places.

the length and breadth of England similar to what was experienced by the Hindus when Samudragupta and Chandragupta II extirpated the rule of foreigners in Bhāratavarsha. So Mr. Havell characterises the change brought about by the accession of the Guptas not as a Hindu or Brâhmanic reaction, but rather as an Aryan revival, "for it was the effort of the Aryan Kshatriyas, aided by the Aryan Brāhmans to restore the political and spiritual supremacy of the Indo-Aryan race in Aryyāvarta. The Brāhmans were not opposing the Buddhism of which the Aryan Prince Siddhārtha was the exponent, for they had been foremost in assimilating and adapting it to the fundamental doctrines of orthodox Indo-Aryan religion. It was against the Samgha of the Fourth Century A. D., under Turki, Parthian and Scythian leadership, with the superstitious corruptions and abuses which it propagated, that the better sense of the Indo-Aryan intellect revolted. From the religious standpoint it was a revival analogous to that which the Prince of the Aryan clan, Sâkya Muni, had himself inspired, for it was a re-awakening of the profound spiritual instinct of the Aryan race which found expression in a great renaissance of Aryan poetry, drama and art" [1].

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1. Mr E. B. Havell's *Aryan Rule in India*—pp. 151-152.

Chapter VI.

The Evidence of Ka´vya Development.

'Wisdom married to immortal verse'—Wordsworth.

The religious revival was associated with the outburst of intellectual activity in the departments of Literature and Fine Arts. The age of the Guptas is characterised by features which cause it, like that of Pericles in Athens, that of Augustus in Italy, and that of Elizabeth in England, to stand alone in the literary history of the world. It was a period of emancipation of thought, of immense fertility and originality and of high and generally diffused culture caused by the extensive conquests of Samudragupta, which brought the people of A´ryyāvarta in contact with the S´cythians and Persians in the north and north-west, and with the Dravidians and Simhalese and possibly through them with the Hindu colonies of Java and Sumatra in the south[1]; by the conquest by Chandragupta II of Surāshtra, the ports of which rendered feasible the exchange of material and intellectual commoditles between India and the West; by the interchange of Buddhistic monks and travellers between India and China, which brought

1. There was commercial intercourse between Kalinga and Spice Islands from which cloves and other spices were imported—(R. V.—VI—57)— द्वीपान्तरानीतलवङ्गपुष्पैः ।

India in contact with the Mongolian civilisation of the east, and finally by the enthusiastic patronage extended by the powerful emperors of the Gupta Dynasty to the learned men of the land. The language, like English in the age of Elizabeth, reached its highest perfection. The poets and prose-writers of this period united the freshness and vigour of youth with the regularity and majesty of manhood, and nothing can better demonstrate the intellectual activity of this epoch than the fact that besides the many excellent works in the provinces of Lyric, Kâvya or Epic, and Dramatic Literature, in which the lesser lights were outshone by the brilliancy of Kālidâsa, as in England all the smaller authors were overshadowed by Shakespeare, treatises of a high order were composed in the departments of Mathematics, Astronomy, Philosophy, Logic and Theology. Fine Arts were not neglected. As Mr. Vincent Smith says, there is abundant evidence of the former existence of numerous magnificent buildings, both Buddhistic and Brāhmanical, which had been erected in the Gupta age and which were later on destroyed by Mahammadan soldiers, who were loth to spare any structure erected by the Hindus. Like Architecture, Sculpture, as exemplified in S'ârnāth and other statues, attained its highest development. Painting, as is evidenced by the frescoes of Ajantā and Sigiriya in Ceylon, was also cultivated with considerable skill.

According to Dr. Keith[1] in very ancient times there

1,—C. S. L.

existed in Aryan India at least three different kinds of speech—(1) The poetic and hieratic language of the Rigveda and the later Samhitās, (2) the language of priests in ordinary life, and (3) the language of the ruling and subject classes. The language of the Brāhmanas, A´ranyakas and Upanishads was a continuation of the prose of the Samhitās. The spoken language or Bhāshā for which Pānini, the Grammarian (300 B. C.) laid down rules, was the language of the higher circles of the society and was a continuation of the language of the priest in ordinary life. The Prākrits were derived from the language of the ruling and subject classes, when the Aryans spread eastwards from Brahmāvarta or the region of Kurukshetra to Kos´alā and Videha, and became more or less mixed with the aboriginal population of these places. A´soka selected one of these Prākrits, which appealed more directly and easily than Sanskrit to the generality of his subjects, for the language of his inscriptions. Dr. Keith[1] adds that besides (a) the language of the Brāhmanas, A´ranyakas and Upanishads, (b) the Bhāshā and (c) the Prākrits, there must have been (d) another dialect closely allied to Bhāsha, but freer, less archaic, more inaccurate and simpler, current among Rhapsodists and their patrons. From the epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, both the Purānas and Kāvyas were evolved. The epics are rich in similes, and occasionally employ other ornaments and are full of beautiful and sublime descriptions of natural scenery, familiar to

the authors of later lyrics, kâvyas and dramas. In the old epic poetry, form is subordinated to matter, but in the later classical poetry, matter becomes a means for the exhibition of dexterities in style. Pânini ignored this dialect in his grammar, because he was more concerned with the correct speech of priests than with any less elevated dialects. The theory that the epics Râmâyana and Mahâbhârata were translated from Prâkrit in the early centuries of the Christian era, cannot be maintained, because there is abundant evidence in the shape of quotations or their substances of their existence in Sanskrit even before Pânini, and because such a translation would be impossible in the age of the decline of Brâhmanism. Both Pânini (300 B. C.) and Patanjali (150 B. C.) were acquainted with the Mahâbhārāta. The latter showed his acquaintance with dramatic recitation of an epic type, from which dramas were later on derived, e. g., Krishna's slaying of Kamsa, Vishnu's binding of Bali; and tales of Yayâti and Vâsavadattâ. He names Vâraruchа (Vararuchi's) Kâvya, and quotes verses embodying sentiments other than heroic—mainly erotic—in the various ornate metres of the later Kâvya style. Some of them are didactic like their compeers in later Kâvyas. From the above it will be evident that in Patanjali's time there existed in their developed forms all the important branches of Classical Sanskrit Literature, Viz, Dramatic, Kâvya or Epic, and Lyric poetry, which attained their highest development in the hands of Kâlidâsa, and which degenerated and became extremely artificial and far removed from real life after his time.

As′vaghosha, the Buddhist dramatic and epic poet wrote his works in Sanskrit, though As′oka's inscriptions and Jâtakas and other Buddhistic writings were composed in the Prâkrits of the day. This shows that As′vaghosha did not dare run counter to the poettic convention of his time. The mere fact that a Buddhist monk conceived the plan of composing his epics on Buddha according to the rules of Classical Sanskrit Epic, shows how popular Kàvya Style must have become in the First Century A. D.. Poets from the time of As′vaghosha to that of Kàlidàsa, though using the developed form of the epic dialect, tried their best to conform to the rules of Pāṇini's Grammar. But this conformity, was not complete, for example, the important rule, परोक्षे लिट्, that is the perfect tense should be confined to things not experienced by one's self, was not at all observed by poets including Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa used 'āsa' for babhuva' and 'sarati' for 'dhâvati' [1]. The chief distinction between Classical Sanskrit prose and poetry lies in the capacity of the former for forming long compounds.

We find in the diction of this period the disappearance of the accent and of many words of Pāṇini's Grammar, and the introduction of new ones, eg., 'Vichchitti' (literary elegance) allied to Sanskrit 'Vikshipti','duruttara' (hard to overcome) akin to Sanskrit 'dustara', and 'Govinda' allied to 'Gopendra' from Pràkrit, divira (writer), bāhâdura (title) from Iranian, and jâmitra (diameter) from Greek Astronomy.[2]

1.—C. S. L..
2. C. S, L..

In the dramas of As´vaghosha, the predecessor of Bhâsa and Kālidāsa, we find the higher male characters speak Sanskrit, and women and men of lower ranks use Prâkit. It appears that in real life such was also the case. But the Prākrits of Bhāsa and Bharata's Nātya S´āstra are different from that of As´vaghosha, and the Prākrıt of Kalidāsa different from those of Bhāsa and Bharata. The dramatic Prākrit became stereotyped after Kālidāsa and became very different from the colloquial speech of the day.[1]

That As´vaghosha, who flourished in the first century A. D. and was the author of the epic Buddhacharita and other works, preceded Kālidāsa, is evident not only from the richer and more elaborate diction of the latter, but also from the similarity of some passages of Buddhacharita to those of Raghuvams´a, which Kālidāsa improved after borrowing; while there is evidence of Asvaghosha's indebtedness to the Rāmāyāna and the Mahābhāratā.

When the young prince, the son of S´uddhodana enters for the first time his father's capital, the ladies ascend the roofs of their houses to see him—

ततः कुमारः खलु गच्छतीति श्रुत्वा स्त्रियः प्रेष्यजनात् प्रवृत्तिम् ।
दिदृक्षया हर्म्यतलानि जग्मुर्जनेन मान्येन कृताभ्यनुज्ञाः ॥

(Then the ladies of the city, hearing from their attendants the news that the Prince is coming, and obtaining permission from respectable elderly persons, went up to the roofs of houses ro see him)—

1.—C. S. L..

वातायनेभ्यश्च विनिःसृतानि परस्परोपाश्रितकुण्डलानि ।
स्त्रीणां विरेजुर्मुखपङ्कजानि सक्तानि हर्म्येष्विव पङ्कजानि ॥[1]

(The lotus-faces of the women gleamed, while they looked out from the windows with their ear-rings coming into mutual proximity, as if they were real lotuses fastened upon houses)[2].

Similarly when S'iva comes to marry Umā (K. S—VII—56 to 62) and Aja leaves the Svayamvara assembly for his marriage with Indumati (R. V.—VII—5 to 11) the ladies come up to the roofs of their houses to see the bridegroom. Kālidāsa simply reproduces in his Raghuvams'am, the verses which he uses in his Kumārasambhavam—

ततस्तदालोकनतत्पराणां, सौधेषु चामीकरजालवत्सु ।
बभूवुरित्थं पुरसुन्दरीणां त्यक्तान्यकार्याणि विचेष्टितानि ॥

....

तासां मुखैरासवगन्धगर्भैर्व्याप्तान्तराः सान्द्रकुतूहलानाम् ।
विलोलनेत्रभ्रमरैर्गवाक्षाः सहस्रपत्राभरणा इवासन् ॥

(R. V.—VII—5 and 11)

(Then, freed from the other necessary engagements of the day, the actions of the beautiful city-women who were intent upon looking at him through the golden windows of their mansions, became as follows :—)

... ...

(The windows of the mansions, the space of which was fuming with the fragrance of wines, of those

1. Buddhacharita by Mr. Nandargikar—Book III—13 and 19.
2. Mr. Cowell.

ladies whose curiosity was greatly excited, were decorated, as it were, with lotuses, where their rolling eyes resembled black bees.)[1]

স্বর্ণ বাতায়নমুখে প্রাসাদ-উপরে
ছুটিল কৌতুকভরে পুরনারীগণ ;
আকুল হেরিতে বরে সবাকার মন,
ত্যজি নিজ নিজ কার্য্য চলিল সত্বরে ।
....
কৌতুহল-ফুল্ল হেন বামামুখদল
শোভিল গবাক্ষে, যেন বিকচ কমল ;
আসব-সৌরভ যেন পরিমল তায়,
চঞ্চল সুনীল নেত্র অলিদল প্রায় ! —N. D.

There is considerable agreement between Māra with his bow and five arrows, which he wants to discharge at the Great Seer Buddha (Buddhacharita—XIII—7), and Kāma ready to discharge his arrows against Śiva, seated in the Virāsana attitude of Yoga (K. S.—III—70). In Aśvaghosha's Buddhacharita (I—63), the seer Asita says he has come to see Buddha, who is the banner of the Śākya race, and who may be compared to the banner erected in honour of Indra before the chief gate of the palace for rain and prosperity. Similarly Raghu who has ascended the throne is compared to the Dhvaja of Puruhuta or Indra (R. V.—IV-3).

Aśvaghosha's Saundarānanda, if not a better Kāvya than, is at least as good as, his Buddhacharita. Buddhacharita is the life of Buddha. Saundarānanda describes

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1. Translated by Mr. Nandargikar.

the love of Nanda (Buddha's step-brother) and his beautiful wife Sundari, and Buddha's successful persuasion of Nanda to retire from the world and to live a spiritual life.

Here are many passages, which are noted for their beauty and pathos, and have their parallels in Raghuvams'a, Kumārasambhava, and other works of Kālidāsa—

यस्य सुव्यवहाराच्च रक्षणाच्च सुखं प्रजाः ।
शिश्यिरे विगतोद्वेगाः पितुरङ्कगता इव ॥

(Sau-II-7-A. S. B. Edition).

[On account of whose good treatment and protection, his (S'uddhodana's) subjects being free from anxiety, slept happily, as it were on their father's lap.]

Let us compare with this—

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद्भरणादपि ।
स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥

R. V.—I.—24.

(Dilipa was really the father of his people for his giving them education and protection and for his maintaining them. Their fathers simply gave them birth).

There is considerable similarity between As'vaghosha's description of S'uddhodana and Kālidāsa's description of Dilipa specially in its *form*. Compare for instance, Sau-II-4, 5, 9, 38 and 41 and R.V.-I-21, 22, and 23). Let us take another passage—

दिवि दुन्दुभयो नेदुः दीव्यताम् मरुतामिव ।
दिदीपेऽप्यधिकं सूर्य्यः शिवश्च पवनो ववौ ॥

(Sau-II-54).

(When Māyā Devi. the first queen of S'uddhodana, gave birth to Buddha, drum-music was heard from heaven, indicating the playful delight of gods ; the sun shone brighter, and auspicious breezes blew). Let us compare with the above—

> दिशः प्रसेदुर्मरुतो ववुः सुखाः प्रदक्षिणार्चिर्हविरग्निराददे ।
> बभूव सर्व्वं शुभशंसि तत्क्षणं, भवो हि लोकाभ्युदयाय तादृशाम् ॥
>
> (R.V.-III-14).

(When Raghu, the son of Dilipa, was born, clear and calm became the vault of heaven, pleasant breezes blew, and the butter-fed flame of the sacred fire bent to the right. All augured happy days, as might be expected from the birth of one destined to bring good to all men).

When there are similarities in sentiment and expression between two authors, it is to be presumed that either one has borrowed from the other, or that both have derived them from the same source. Though both As'vaghosha and Kālidāsa are indebted to their predecessors, e. g., Vālmiki, yet such close similarities cannot be thus accounted for. That As'vaghosha is a gifted poet, cannot be questioned by any one who has gone through his writings. If he were really the borrower, his borrowings would at least be as good as Kālidāsa's. See how prosaic As'vaghosha is in—प्रेष्यजनात् प्रवृत्तिम् and मान्येन कृताभ्यनुज्ञः and in the repetition of पङ्कजानि (see page 198). Again the style of As'vaghosha is much simpler than that of Kālidāsa, and resembles more that of Vālmiki.

The reason why Kālidāsa, though a later poet

than As′vaghosha, does not borrow anything from him in his first work Ritusamhāra is simply that Kālidāsa has very little to imitate in his erotic poem from the works of the puritanic poet.

The Girnār Pras′asti (in prose—150 A. D. see p. 182) of Rudradāmana, the Western Satrap, is in the elaborate diction of the Kâvya type, and shows the intimate acquaintance of the author of the court of a foreign ruler with the rules of Sanskrit Poetics.

Though Bhāsa did not write any Kâvya, yet the perusal of his dramas leads one to the conclusion that he flourished before Kâlidāsa. In his Abhishekanātaka or the drama of Rāma's coronation, he condenses in a few pages the incidents of Vālmiki's Rāmāyana from the fight between Vāli and Sugriva and Rama's treacherous slaying of the former, to his coronation after his successful fight with Rāvana and the fire-purification of Sitā, Bhāsa's summary may have suggested to Kālidāsa, the condensation which he practises so adroitly in his Raghuvams′a.

Rāma on his reaching the ocean for the first time with his army says—

रामः—विलोक्य सविस्मयम्—वत्स लक्ष्मण ! वयस्य विभीषण ! महाराज सुग्रीव ! सखे हनुमन् ! पश्यन्तु भवन्तः । अहो विचित्रता सागरस्य ! इह हि—

क्वचित् फेनोद्गारी, क्वचिदपि च मीनाकुलजलः,
क्वचिच्छङ्खाकीर्णः क्वचिदपि च नीलाम्बुदनिभः ।
क्वचिद्वीचीमालः, क्वचिदपि च नक्रप्रतिभयः,
क्वचिद् भीमावर्तः क्वचिदपि च निष्कम्पसलिलः ।

Rāma (looking with astonishment)—Dear Lakshman! Friend Bibhishan! King Sugriv! Friend Hanuman! See you all: how wonderful in variety is the Ocean! In it are to be found some places emitting foam, some parts where water is being agitated by big fishes, some which are fearful, again some where water looks like the blue cloud, some full of waves following one another in quick succession, some full of dreadful crocodiles, some places convulsed with fearful whirlpools, and some where water is calm and unruffled .

Kâlidâsa's description of the ocean at the beginning of the thirteenth canto of Raghuvams΄a is a distinct improvement on Bhâsa's. But he imitates closely the author of Abhishekanâtaka, as regards the style and beginning of every line of verse with क्वचित्, in the stanzas 19, 54, 55, 56 and 57 of the thirteenth canto of his Raghuvams΄a, where Rāma describes to his beloved consort the progress of his aerial car, and later on in inmitable language the beauty of the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā.

The inscriptions of the Gupta period, which are about eighteen in number, are written mostly in verse, but partly also in elevated prose. They cover a period of two centuries from 350 to 550 A. D. Several of them are pras΄astis or panegyrics on kings. They prove that their poetic style is similar to that of classical kāvyas. Harishena's panegyric on Samudragupta[1], consisting of thirty lines of poetry and about

1. C. I.—I.

thirty lines of prose, shows a mastery of style rivalling that of Kālidāsa—(examples quoted see p. 98ff.). Harishena's prose is full of long compounds according to the rule of Sanskrit Poetics. His poetry like Kālidāsa's follows the Vaidarbha style. An inscription composed by poet Vatsabhatti in 473 A. D. (see p. 39ff). found at Mandasor, shows the author's imitation of Kālidāsa's Ritusamhāra and Meghaduta.[1] This inscription proves that Kālidāsa flourished prior to 473 A. D. . There are, of course, several earlier inscriptions, for example, that of Skandagupta, Parnadatta and Chakrapālita of 457-58 A.D. , where there is a description of the rainy season and of rivers as mistresses of the ocean going to meet their lord, the sea, which reminds one of the Ritusamhāra of Kālidāsa. The prose of Harishena is more artificial than that of Rudradāmana's Girnār inscription of the second century A. D. , though long compounds, alliteration, metaphors and similes are common to both. The date of Harishena's inscription, which describes Samudragupta's conquests cannot be earlier than 350 A. D.. The similarities of the style of the poetical part of this inscription to that of the kāvyas and lyrics of Kālidāsa, and of the achievements of Raghu, the Kings of Magadha and Avanti, Kus'a and Atithi, to those of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Kumaragupta I and Skandagupta, lead to the conclusion that Kāli-

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1. Jinasena, the preceptor of Amoghavarsha, King of Mâlakhera, Hyderabad-Deccan) from 815 to 877 A. D., based his Pârshvâbhyudaya on Kâlidâsa's Meghaduta.

dāsa most likely flourished during the period 385 to 460 A. D, .

The Kavyas of Kalidasa.

The Ritusamhāra or the collection or bringing-together of seasons is most likely the first work of Kālidāsa. It consists of one hundred and fiftytwo stanzas, and is divided into six cantos, each describing a particular season of the Indian year. The Poet gives here a glowing description of the beauties of nature in varying metres to his Beloved—

Summer is first of all described—

प्रचण्डसूर्य्यः स्पृहणीयचन्द्रमाः सदावगाहक्षतवारिसञ्चयः ।
दिनान्तरम्योऽभ्युपशान्तमन्मथो निदाघकालोऽयमुपागतः प्रिये ॥
निशाः शशाङ्कक्षतनीलराजयः क्वचिद्विचित्रं जलयन्त्रमन्दिरम् ।
मणिप्रकाराः सरसञ्च चन्दनं, शुचौ प्रिये ! यान्ति जनस्य सेव्यताम् ॥
सुवासितं हर्म्यतलं मनोहरं प्रियामुखोच्छ्वासविकम्पितं मधु ।
सुतन्त्रिगीतं मदनस्य दीपनं, शुचौ निशीथेऽनुभवन्ति कामिनः ॥

(Summer 1 to 3).

(Now is the time of heat ! a raging sun
Burns through the day, till pleasant night,
Cool and refreshing spreads its sable veil.
The sleeping surface of limpid pools[1]

---

1. Continual bathing gently lowers the water in the pool (T. K. R.).

Is oft disturbed by plunging bathers, faint
With heat, with amorous dalliance tired.

Behold the shades of night, pierced by the rays
Of many a star, and there the spotted moon
Shines on yon palace, through whose portals wide
The watered khas-khas sheds its sweet perfume,
While languid maidens, decked with shining gems,
Disclose their beauties, courting the cool air.

Within the marble halls, ambrosial gales,
Of all sweet odours, ravish every heart,
While brimming cups, high-crowned with sparkling wine,
Inflame the souls, deep-pierced by Kāma's darts.
These are the joys that suit the sultry months,
That tender lovers taste at midnight's hour.)—S.J. .

(আসিল নিদাঘ, প্রিয়ে, রৌদ্র ভয়ঙ্কর,
স্নান- ক্ষীণ- বারি, আর প্রিয় শশিকর।
সন্ধ্যা রমণীয় হয় এই গ্রীষ্মকালে;
প্রশান্ত কামীর মন সকলেতে বলে॥
জোছনাভূষিত নিশি, জলযন্ত্র-গৃহ,
শীতস্পর্শ রত্নরাজি সরস চন্দন,
এই সব উপভোগ্য ভুঞ্জে যদি কেহ,
সুখেতে যাপয়ে, প্রিয়ে, নিদাঘ সে জন॥
সুবাসিত রম্য হর্ম্ম্য প্রিয়া মুখ-মধু,
তানলয়সমন্বিত সংগীত-শ্রবণ।
শুচি-কালে এই সব কামী-জন-শীধু;
সুখেতে করয়ে তারা নিশার যাপন॥

Then follows a description of girls beautifying themselves with fine cloths, ornaments, sandal-paste and other fragrant substances to attract their lovers, and resting in moonlit nights on the roofs of white-washed mansions, which become resonant with appropriate music.

The animals of the forest feel the effects of heat—

मृगाः प्रचण्डातपतापिता भृशं, तृषा महत्या परिशुष्कतालवः ।
वनान्तरे तोयमिति प्रधाविता, निरीक्ष्य भिन्नाञ्जनसन्निभन्नभः ॥

... ...

तृषा महत्या हतविक्रमोद्यमः श्वसन्मुहुर्दूरविदारिताननः ।
नहन्त्यदूरेऽपि गजान् मृगेश्वरो, विलोलजिह्वः स्खलिताग्रकेशरः ॥

Summer—11 and 14.

(Faint with the heat, the graceful young gazelle,
With tongue all dry with thirst, seeks turbid pools,
Leaving his native woods ; with nostril spread
And head high raised, he views the gathering clouds,
Which all the sky obscure, like painted eyes
Of beauteous damsels stained of Kohl's dark hue.

... ...

His force and courage spent, the king of beasts,
Urged by a raging thirst—with muzzle seamed
With many a wound ; faint, with hanging tongue,
And mane disordered floating o'er its head,—
Fails to attack the elephant, its prey,
Who near it stands unnoticed and secure)—S. J.

প্রচণ্ড আতপ-তাপে খিন্ন মৃগকুল,
পরিশুষ্ক-তালু এরা তৃষ্ণায় আকুল।
অরণ্যে ভ্রমণ করে বারি-অন্বেষণে,
মেঘ-ভিন্ন নীলাকাশ জলাশয় গণে॥

... ...

বিক্রম হয়েছে ক্ষুণ্ণ সিংহের তৃষায়
মুহুর্মুহু মুখ হতে শ্বাস বাহিরায়।
বিলোল রসনা তার কম্পিত কেশর,
সন্নিহিত গজে নাহি বধে পশুবর॥

Peacocks protect themselves from the heat of the sun with their expanded tails. The condition of boars, frogs, fishes, snakes, buffaloes, birds and monkeys, which have become enfeebled by heat, is graphically described. The wind is scattering death on nature, both animate and inanimate like fire. But the banks of tanks full of lotuses and other fragrant flowers specially in moonlit nights are really enjoyable.

The close heat is succeeded by the royal Rainy Season, which is ushered by its army of dark heavy clouds like infuriated elephants, by its banner of lightning flashes and by its music of thunder-roll.—

ससीकराम्भोधरमत्तकुञ्जरस्तडित्-पताकोऽशनिशब्दमर्द्दलः।
समागतो राजवदुद्धतद्युतिर्घनागमः कामिजनप्रियः, प्रिये ! ॥

(বারি-বিন্দু-পূর্ণ মেঘ উন্মত্ত বারণ,
বিদ্যুৎ পতাকা, বাদ্য জলদ-গর্জ্জন,
বরষা বিলাসী-প্রিয়, অদম্য প্রভায়
হয়ে সমন্বিত, প্রিয়ে, আসে নৃপ-প্রায়।)

The rain advances like a king
In awful majesty[1] ;
Hear, Dearest, how his thunders ring
Like royal drums, and see
His lightning-banners wave ; a cloud
For elephant he rides,
And finds his welcome from the crowd
Of lovers and of brides.—T. K. R. .

Peacocks with beautiful expanded feathers attract their mates by their dances. Rivers with their impure muddy water uprooting trees in their wanton fury rush to their lover—the sea. Newly-sprung green grasses and sprays adorn the mouths of deer. Elephants roar in delight, and bees taste the sweet secretions of their cheeks. Various kinds of flowers are plucked by girls to decorate themselves, so that they may captivate their lovers. The season itself plays the part of a gallant—

शिरसि वकुलमालां मालतीभिः समेतां,
विकसितवनपुष्पैर्यूथिकाकुड्मलैश्च ।
विकचनवकदम्बैः कर्णपूरं वधूनां
रचयति जलदौघः कान्तवत् काल एषः ॥

(Rains-24).

(প্রাবৃট অসিয়া রচে প্রিয়তমা-কেশে,
জাতী-যূথী-বনফুল-বকুলের হার,
পরায় প্রিয়াকে তার, প্রিয়তম-বেশে,
বিকসিত-নবনীপ-কর্ণ-অলঙ্কার ॥)

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1. Better 'splendour'.

(This is the month that in its escort brings
The rolling clouds, which lover-like prepare
The crowns of bakula, with jasmin twined,
T'adorn the head—and new-blown flowers,
Kadamba ear-rings, plucked by youthful brides,
And half-closed Yuthikās with drooping heads)

—S.J..

The next season is Autumn—

काशांशुका विकचपद्ममनोज्ञवक्त्रा
सोन्मादहंसरवनूपुरनादरम्या ।
आपक्वशालिरुचिरा तनुगात्रयष्टिः
प्राप्ता शरन्नवबधूरिव रूपरम्या ॥

काशैर्मही, शिशिरदीधितिना रजन्यो
हंसैर्जलानि सरितां कुमुदैः सरांसि ।
सप्तच्छदैः कुसुमभारनतैर्वनान्ताः
शुक्लीकृतान्युपवनानि च मालतीभिः ॥

—(Autumn—1 and 2).

(স্ফুট-পদ্ম-মুখী কাশাংশুক-পরিহিতা,
মদমত্ত-হংস-ধ্বনি-নূপুর-শোভিতা,
পক্ক-কল্ম শালি দেহ-যষ্টি সুগঠন,
শরত আসিল নববধূর মতন ॥
কাশ-পুষ্প-অলঙ্কৃতা বসুধা মোহিনী,
শীত-রশ্মি-বিভূষিতা ধবলা যামিনী ॥

হংস-মালা বিরাজয় নদীচয় নীরে,
কুমুদিনী শোভা দেয় স্বচ্ছ সরোবরে ॥

সপ্তপর্ণ পুষ্পভারে নমিত কানন,
মালতী-কুসুমে সিত বন সুশোভন ॥)

Her lotus-face with full-blown kās´as clad,
Clinking her anklets with a joyful sound,
'Midst amorous songs of swans, and in her hand,
Holding a wand of half-ripe rice, on which
Her finely moulded limbs lean for support—
Behold the Autumn comes like lovely bride.
With brilliant Kās´as all meadows smile,
And nights are fresh with dew; on all the streams,
Float graceful swans, and on each tank
The verdant water-lily. Now bend the trees
Weighed down by clustering Saptachchhadas ;.[1]
With jasmine-snow, are all the gardens white.

—S. J. .

Rivers now flow gently, being adorned with the restless little s´afari fish, white swans, and green banks. The cloud-patches above are of various beautiful colours. The night wears its cloth of moonlight and its ornaments of stars. Women adorn themselves in this season with various ornaments, sandal-paste and flowers. This is the season of jasmine, lotus, vandhuka, kuruvaka, kadamba, kahlāra, lily and as´oka flowers. Also—

श्यामालताः कुसुमभारनतप्रवालाः
स्त्रीणां हरन्ति धृतभूषणबाहुकान्तिम् ।
ओष्ठावभासविशदस्मितचन्द्रकान्तिं,
कङ्केलिपुष्परुचिरा नवमालिकाश्च ॥ —(Autumn— 18).

1. Called also Saptaparna (in Bengai Chhâtima).—a tree having seven leaves on a stalk—Echites Scholaris—M. W. .

(The violet creepers, bending under flowers,
Eclipse, O fair ones, e'en thy rounded arms,
Adorned with gems ; and charming lips,
Set off by whiteness of the loveliest teeth,
Must own themselves effaced and overcome
By new-blown jasmine and As´oka's flower,.—S. J..

(পুষ্প-ভারে অবনতা হয়ে শ্যামা লতা,
শোভে যেন অলঙ্কৃতা বামা-বাহুলতা।
কঙ্কেলি-শোভিতা-নবমালিকা-সুন্দরী
বিরাজয় চন্দ্রমুখ-হাস্য-কান্তি হরি ॥)

Then comes Hemanta or winter in which rice ripens, lotuses disappear, snow falls, lodhras blossom, and kraunchas fill the sky with their cry. This is the season, when lovers enjoy each other's company. There is too much of sensuality in the description of this and the two following seasons. But beautiful similes are not rare—

पाकं व्रजन्ती हिमसङ्गशीतैराधूयमाना सततं मरुद्भिः ।
प्रिये ! प्रियङ्गुः प्रियविप्रयुक्ता विपाण्डुतां याति विलासिनीव ॥

(Hemanta—10).

[Then the Priyangu creeper, reaching ripeness,
Buffeted constantly by chilling breezes,
Grows, O Beloved, ever pale and paler,
Like lonely maiden from her lover parted]—S. L..

(প্রিয়ঙ্গুলতিকা হিম মরুৎ-হিল্লোলে,
শ্যাব-বর্ণ প্রাপ্ত হয়ে ঘন ঘন দোলে ;
যথা প্রিয়বিপ্রয়োগে বিষাদিত মন,
পাণ্ডুবর্ণ দেহ নারী করেন ধারণ ॥

In the S'is'ira or dewy season or early spring, rice and sugar-cane abound, and fire, the sun's rays and closed rooms are in great request—

प्रूढशालीक्षुचयावृतक्षिति सुस्थस्थितक्रौञ्चनिनादशोभितम् ।
प्रकामकामं प्रमदाजनप्रियं वरोरु ! कालं शिशिराह्वयं श्रृणु ॥

—(S'is'ira—1).

(Now, Dearest, lend a heedful ear
And listen while I sing
Delights to every maiden dear,
The charms of early spring;
When earth is dotted with the heaps
Of corn, when heron-scream[1]
Is rare but sweet, (when passion leaps
And paints a livelier dream).—T. K. R. .

(শোভনাঙ্গি, শুন এবে শিশির-বর্ণন
ভোগ্য-বস্তু-পরিপূর্ণ প্রমদা-রঞ্জন,
ইক্ষু শালি-ধান্য করে ক্ষিতি আবরণ.
সুখে-স্থিত-ক্রৌঞ্চ নাদে ধ্বনিত ভুবন ।)

The moon-beam is now cold, and the light of stars pale. This season is the torment of those who are separated from their lovers.

The spring, the last and best of seasons, is described by the poet at great length—

प्रफुल्लचूताङ्कुरतीक्ष्णसायको द्विरेफमालाविलसद्धनुर्गुणः ।
मनांसि भेत्तुं सुरतप्रसङ्गिनां वसन्तयोधः समुपागतः प्रिये ! ॥ -Spring-1.

---

1. Lit., tho cry of kraunchas from their snug nests beautifies the season.

[Behold the warrior of Spring approach,
Pointing his arrows with bright mango-flowers,
Whose bowstring's formed of rows of clustering bees,
To wound all hearts, O loved one, with desire]—

S. J.

[আসিল বসন্ত-ঋতু সমরের সাজে,
প্রেমিক-মানসে তাঁর তীক্ষ্ণ শর বাজে,
বিকসিত চূতাঙ্কুর মাধবের বাণ,
ধনুর্গুণ তাঁর হয় ভ্রমর-বিতান]

This is the season of beautiful flowers—karnikāras, navamallikās, as´okas, kims´ukas, kundas, mādhavis, champakas and mango-blossoms which fill breezes with their rich fragrance. The humming of intoxicated bees and the songs of cuckoos fill the air with sweet music. Girls appear very attractive in their fine cloths, ornaments of flowers and sandalpaste figures on their persons.

आम्रीमञ्जुलमञ्जरीवरशरः सत् किंशुकं यद्धनुर्ज्या
यस्यालिकुलं कलङ्करहितं छत्रं सितांशुः सितम् ।
मत्तेभोमलयानिलः परभृतो यद्बन्दिनो लोकजित्
सोऽयं वो तरीतरीतु वितनुर्भद्रं वसन्तान्वितः ॥ —(Spring—28).

(Whose arrows fine sweet mango-blossoms make ;
The form of whose bow good kims´ukas take ;
The string of whose bow is the swarm of bees ;
The lunar orb his white umbrella is ;
Whose angry elephants are southern winds ;
Whose eulogists sweet one in cuckoos finds ;
May the World-conqueror whom Spring attends,
To each of you make hearty love-amends.)

(শর চূত-মঞ্জরী, কিংশুক শরাসন,
ধনুর্জ্যা ভ্রমরচয়, সিত ছত্র শশী,
মলয় অনিল যাঁর প্রমত্ত বারণ,
পিক যাঁর স্তুতি গায় বৃক্ষশাখে বসি।
বসন্ত-সহায় তিনি, নাম তাঁর স্মর,
মঙ্গল হউক যেন, এই দেন বর ॥)

Here as in the other works of the Poet, are exhibited his deep sympathy with Nature, his power of accurate observation and his skill in describing graphically the beautiful sights and the melodious music of nature. It has been pointed out (see p. 39) that Vatsabhatti used this poem in his inscription. "The comparative simplicity of the Poem," says Dr. Keith; "explains at once why no early commentaries are known, and why the writers on Poetics do not cite from it to illustrate their rules......The poem by its lack of elaborate art appeals more strongly to modern taste......It is perfectly true that it falls short of the later poems in depth of poetic insight and feeling."[1] It should be remembered that it is the first adventure of Kālidāsa in the realm of literature. Naturally he is bound by the convention of his day and follows Vātsāyana and the poets of his time in interweaving erotic scenes with the beauties of nature.

That Ritusāmhāra, though showing signs of immaturity, for example the paucity of similes and good poetry, is the work of Kālidāsa, cannot be denied. As

1. C. S. L.—p. 33.

Dr. Keith says, if we compare Tennyson's earliest poem like Claribel with his Princess or In Memoriam, it is difficult for us to realise that both have been written by the same hand.

That the hill like a noble-minded man gives shelter to the refugee, is found both in Kumārasambhavam (I—12) and Ritusamhāra (Rains—27). There is a similar sentiment in the seventeenth verse of the Meghaduta (see p. 158). We may compare also the description of Spring in Ritusamhâra and Kumârasambhavam (K. S.—III—25 to 32). Mango-blossoms, karnikâras, as´okas, bees, sprays and cuckoos are common to both. Mango blossoms are mentioned in the description of the season of spring eight times by the Poet in his Ritusamhāra. Rati requests the God of Spring to offer to the spirit of her dead husband sprays with mango-blossoms, of which, she says, he was very fond (K. S.—IV—38). Mango-blossoms are said to be the best of spring-flowers in the Kumārasambhavam (I—27). Spring, the companion of the God of Love, carries always mango-blossoms in his hand (K. S.—II—64). The Poet uses द्विरेफ for bhramaras in both the poems. Spring is Love's companion (R. S. Spring—28 and K. S.—III—10). Flowers imitate the smiles of beautiful lips (K. S. —I—44 ; and R. S.—Autumn—18). There is a closc resemblance between the description of summer in the Ritusamhâra (पाटलामोदरम्यः सुखसलिलनिषेकः) and that in Prelude to the Abhijnâna-S´akuntalam (सुभगसलिलावगाहाः पाटलसंसर्गसुरभिवनवाताः), both of which refer to bathing in pleasant water and breezes redolent with the

fragrance of Pātala flowers. The similarity is very close between the description of Autumn in the fourth canto of Raghuvams´am and that in Ritusamhāra: white kās´a flowers, bright moonlight, rows of swans, water full of kumuda flowers, s´āli paddy, transparent water and saptaparna flowers occur in both. The image of a newly-married girl (badhu) is introduced in the description of autumn in Ritusamhāra (1 and 2) and of Spring in Raghuvams´a (IX—34). There is much resemblance between the description of summer in Ritusamhāra and that in the sixteenth canto of Raghuvams´am: pātala flowers, wearing of necklaces and fine clothes, diminution of water in tanks, use of sandalpaste and artificial cooling of rooms are to be found in both. Such resemblances between Ritusamhāra and the other works of the Poet may be multiplied. (See also J. R. A. S. 1912, p. p. 1066 ff; 1913, pp. 410 ff.).

Kumarasambhavam.

The luxuriance, glow and wantonness of the youthful imagination of the Poet are visible also in his epic poem, Kumārasambhavam or the birth of Kumāra, Kārtikeya or the God of War, the incidents of which are mainly derived from the Skandapurāna,

Mahes´vara-Khanda, Chapters XX to XXX, and from Lingapurâna, Book I, Chapter CI to CIII.

This work is divided into seventeen cantos. The first canto begins with a grand description of the Himālayas, which stretch from the eastern to the western sea and appear as the earth's measuring-yard. Snow has not been able to destroy the beauty of this mountain. It is the abode of precious minerals and herbs and also of Vidyādharas and Kinnaris (See also p. 145).

A daughter named Pārvati or Umā is born to the God of the Mountain and his wife Menakā. Her surpassing beauty shows itself, as she grows from childhood to youth.—

उन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव चित्रं, सूर्य्यांशुभिर्भिन्नमिवारविन्दम् ।
बभूव तस्याश्चतुरश्रशोभि, वपुर्विभक्तं नवयौवनेन ॥

... ...

पुष्पं प्रवालोपहितं यदि स्यान्मुक्ताफलं वा स्फुटविद्रुमस्थम् ।
ततोऽनुकुर्य्याद्विशदस्य तस्यास्ताम्रौष्ठपर्य्यस्तरुचः स्मितस्य ॥
स्वरेण तस्याममृतस्रुतेव, प्रजल्पितायामभिजातवाचि ।
अप्यन्यपुष्टा प्रतिकूलशब्दा श्रोतुर्वितन्त्रीरिव ताड्यमाना ॥

(K. S.—1—32, 44, 45)

(As pictures waken to the painter's brush,
Or lilies open to the morning sun,
Her perfect beauty answered to the flush
Of womanhood, when childish days were done.
* * * * *
Suppose a blossom on a leafy spray:
Suppose a pearl on a spotless coral laid:

Such was the smile, pure, radiantly gay,
That round her red, red lips for ever played
And when she spoke, the music of her tale
Was sweet, the music of her voice to suit,
Till listeners felt as if the nightingale[1]
Had grown discordant like a jangled lute.

—T. K. R.

(তুলিকায় যেন সুষ্ঠু আলেখ্য-অঙ্কন,
ভানুকরে বিকসিতা যেন কমলিনী,
গিরিরাজ-তনয়ার প্রকাশে যৌবন,
চতুরস্র-শোভা ধরে দেহযষ্টিখানি।

নবপত্রোপরি যদি কুসুম ধবল,
স্ফুট প্রবালের গায়ে শোভে মুক্তাফল,
রক্তবর্ণ উমা-ওষ্ঠে সিত-রদ-হাস,
অনুকারে করে তবে সামর্থ্য-প্রকাশ।

মধুর-বাদিনী উমা যদি কিছু ভাষে,
অমৃতের ধারা যেন হৃদয়ে প্রবেশে;
তার তুলনাতে কুহু কোকিলের ধ্বনি,
কর্কশ বিতন্ত্রী বীণা-স্বর সম গণি॥)

Nârada, the messenger of gods, says to her father that she is destined to be the wife of Mahes´vara, who is absorbed on the mountain-top in spiritual meditation, and whom in compliance with her father's request she serves ardently with flowers and other offerings. S´iva does not object to the beautiful Umã's attending upon him for.—

1. Lit.—Cuckoo.

प्रत्यर्थिभूतामपि तां समाधेः, शुश्रूषमाणां गिरिशोऽनुमेने ।
विकारहेतौ सति विक्रियन्ते येषां न चेतांसि त एव धीराः ॥

(K. S.—I—59)

(The hermit welcomed with a courteous brow
That gentle enemy of hermit-vow :
The still pure breast where contemplation dwells
Defies the charmer and the charmer's spells,
Calm and unmoved he viewed the wondrous maid,
And bade her all his pious duties aid)—G. .

(যদিও সমাধি বিঘ্ন-কারিণী পার্ব্বতী
তবু তাঁর সেবা লইলেন পশুপতি,—
বিকারের হেতুসত্ত্বে অধীর যে নহে,
প্রকৃত সুধীর ধীর তাহাকেই কহে' ॥) —R. L. B.

In the second canto we find the gods headed by Indra request Brahmā to devise means for destroying the demon Tāraka, who has usurped the sovereignty of Indra. Brahmā says in reply that as the prosperity of the demon is due to his blessing, it is not right that he should be the cause of his destruction.—

विषवृक्षोऽपि संवर्ध्य स्वयं छेत्तुमसाम्प्रतम् ।

(K. S.—II—55).

(And well ye know that e'en a poisonous tree
By him who planted it, unharmed should be).—G.

He adds that only a son born to S'iva can be his slayer.

In the third canto Indra requests the God of Love to proceed with his wife Rati and the Season of Spring to the place where S'iva is practising Yoga, which has made him proof against the divine charms of

Umā, and to hurl his arrows at him, which Manmatha promises to do. The precincts of the hermitage of S'iva now become filled with all the sweet sights and sounds and other appurtenances of spring, which are bound to rouse the emotion of love even in the heart most insusceptible. Now follows a grand description of the greatest ascetic in the particular Yoga attitude called Virāsana. Umā is present before him with all her celestial charms enhanced by the ornaments of flowers, which she has been wearing. The God of Love deeming this to be most opportune moment, hurls his love-arrows against S'iva, who becomes a little restless and looks at the beautiful girl before him; but he becomes indignant when he finds out Kandarpa with his bow ready to discharge more arrows towards him and burns him with the fire of anger proceeding from his third eye. Umā being ashamed retires with two wood-nymphs, who are her companions—

शैलात्मजापि पितुरुच्छिरसोऽभिलाषं, व्यर्थं समर्थ्य ललितं वपुरात्मनश्च ।
सख्योः समक्षमिति चाधिकजातलज्जा, शून्या जगाम भवनाभिमुखी कथञ्चित् ॥

K. S—III-75.

(Sad was Himālaya's daughter ; grief and shame
O'er the young spirit of the maiden came :
Grief—for she loved, and all her love was vain ;
Shame—she was spurned before her youthful train.
She turned away, with fear and woe oppressed,
To hide her sorrow in her father's breast.) —G. .

উন্নত পিতার আশ, সকল হইল নাশ,
ললিত-লাবণ্য-গর্ব্ব হইল বিগত,

জানিল সঙ্গীনীচয়, তাহে লজ্জা অতিশয়,

গৃহেতে চলিল গৌরী হয়ে আশাহত।—R. L. B. .

The fourth canto begins with the returning conciousness of Rati, who has fainted on account of the sudden calamity which has befallen her. Her lament is very touching like that of Aja for his wife Indumati in the Raghuvams'a—

कृतवानसि विप्रियं न मे, प्रतिकूलं न च ते मया कृतम् ।

किमकारणमेव दर्शनं, विलपन्त्यै रतये न दीयते । —K. S—IV-7,

(আমার অপ্রিয় কভু, কর নাই তুমি প্রভু,

আমিও তা করিনি কখন ;

তবে কেন অকারণ, কাঁদাইছ এতক্ষণ,

রতিরে না দেহ দরশন।)—R. L. B. .

(Thou never didst a thing to cause me anguish ;
I never did a thing to work thee harm ;
Why should I thus in vain affliction languish ?
Why not return to bless thy grieving Charm[1] ?)

—T. K. R. .

Later on when Vasanta, the God of Spring, comes to console her, she says to her departed husband—

अयि सम्प्रति देहि दर्शनं स्मर ! पर्य्युत्सुको एष माधवः ।

दयितास्वनवस्थितं नृणां न खलु प्रेम चलं सुहृज्जने ॥

(K. S.—IV-28).

(Now come my Kāma, Spring, who was so dear,
Longs to behold thee. Oh appear, appear !
Fickle to women, Love perchance may bend
His ear to listen to a faithful friend.)—G. .

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1. Rati.

(এস ওহে মীনকেতু তব দরশন-হেতু
মাধবের মানস চঞ্চল,
পুরুষের নারী-প্রতি, কভু নহে সম রতি,
বন্ধু-জনে প্রণয় অটল)—R. L. B. .

—and then to her husband's campanion—

गत एव न ते निवर्त्तते, स सखा दीप इवानिलाहतः ।
अहमस्य दशेव पश्य मामविषह्यव्यसनेन धूमिताम् ॥

(K. S.—IV-30).

(But Love is gone, far gone beyond returning,
A candle snuffed by wandering breezes vain ;
And see ! I am his wick, with love once burning,
Now blackened by the smoke of nameless pain.)

T. K. R. . .

(বাতাহত দীপমত সে সখা হইল হত
রাখিতে নারিলে তুমি তারে,
দেখ দশা দশাপ্রায়, পড়ে আছি আমি হায় !
গুরু শোক-ধূমের সঞ্চারে ।) —R. L. B. .

She decides to follow her husband and burn herself on his funeral pyre for—

शशिना सह याति कौमुदी, सह मेघेन तडित् प्रलीयते ।
प्रमदाः पतिवर्त्मगा इति, प्रतिपन्नं हि विचेतनैरपि ॥

(K. S.—IV-33).

(The mourning lotus dies,
When the bright Moon, her lover quits the skies ;
When sinks the red cloud in her purple west,
Still clings, his bride, the lightning, to his breast.

All nature keeps the eternal high decree :
Shall woman fail ?) —G. .

শশি যবে অস্ত যায়, জ্যোৎস্না তার সঙ্গে ধায়,
মেঘ-সহ তড়িৎ-প্রয়াণ ;
পতি-পথ-পরা সতী, পতি-ভিন্ন নাহি গতি
জড়েতেও দিতেছে প্রমাণ ।)—R. L. B. .

Now a heavenly voice tells her that she should wait for her husband, who will be revived by S'iva himself after his marriage with Umā—

अथ मदनवधूरुपप्लवान्तं व्यसनकृशा परिपालयाम्बभूव ।
शशिन इव दिवातनस्य लेखा, किरणपरिक्षयधूसरा प्रदोषम् ॥

—K. S.—IV—46.

(Cheered by that voice from heaven, the mourner's heart,
Who watched away the hours, so sad and slow,
That brought the limit of her weary woe,
As the pale moon, quenched by the conquering light
Of garish day, longs for its own dear night).

G.—p. 52.

অতঃপর স্মরদারা লাবণ্য-লহরী-হারা,
ভাবে কবে যাইবে ব্যসন ।
যথা ক্ষীণা চন্দ্র-লেখা, দিবাভাগে দিয়া দেখা
চিন্তে কবে নিশা-আগমন ॥

In the fifth canto Pārvati realising the inefficacy of her charms in winning S'iva for her husband, proceeds with the consent of her parents, given with

much reluctance, to practise austerities quite inconsistent with the charms of her youth—

क ईप्सितार्थस्थिरनिश्चयं मनः पयश्च निम्नाभिमुखं प्रतीपयेत् ॥

(K. S.—V-5.)

(Who can hinder a downward rushing stream and a mind bent on realising a cherished object ?)

She gives up all luxuries, puts on a bark-dress, wounds her tender fingers while cutting the keen-edged grass required for worship, begins to count beads and sleeps on the bare ground. Her uncombed hair becomes tangled and—

पुनर्ग्रहीतुं नियमस्थया तया द्वयेऽपि निक्षेप इवार्पितं द्वयम् ।
लतासु तन्वीसु विलासचेष्टितं विलोलदृष्टिं हरिणाङ्गनासु च ॥

—K. S.—V—13.

(She pledging her graceful movements with delicate creepers and love-glances with the females of deer for the time being, subjects herself to a rigorous discipline.)

(কৃশাঙ্গী লতাতে উমা বিলাস-চেষ্টন,
মৃগ-অঙ্গনাতে তাঁর চপল প্রেক্ষণ,
তপস্তা-নিরতা তিনি করেন স্থাপন ;
গ্রহিবেন পুনঃ যবে হবে প্রয়োজন ।)

Her dress and her life in the hermitage resemble to some extent those of S'akuntalâ on the banks of the Mālini. After sometime an ascetic wearing a deer skin with his hair plaited and his countenance beaming with spiritual light, comes to the hermitage and says to Umā—

अपि क्रियार्थं सुलभं समित्कुशं जलान्यपि स्नानविधिक्षमाणि ते ।
अपि स्वशक्त्या तपसि प्रवर्त्तसे, शरीरमाद्यं खलु धर्म्मसाधनम् ॥

K. S.—V—33.

(Are the sacred grass and fuel available here for your sacrifices ? Are you able to find here sufficient water for your ablutions ? Do you practise austerities according to your capacity ? The primary religious means, you should remember, is health.)

(সমিধ ও কুশ তব করিতে যজন,
স্নান-বারি পাও তুমি যথা প্রয়োজন ?
শক্তি-অনুসারে কিবা তপঃ-আচরণ ?
সুস্থ দেহ, জেনো, মুখ্য ধর্ম্মের সাধন ।)

He adds that it is not befitting that a young and beautiful girl like her should practise austerities; and when her companions tell him that she has been doing so for inducing S'iva to marry her, the Brahmachāri replies that the ascetic S'iva is too hideous for a graceful girl like Umâ and adds—

द्वयञ्च तेऽन्या पुरतो विडम्बना यदूढया वारणराजहार्य्यया ।
विलोक्य वृद्धोक्षमधिष्ठितं त्वया, महाजनः स्मेरमुखो भविष्यति ॥

(K. S.—V-70).

(A royal bride returning in thy state,
The king of elephants should bear thy weight.
How wilt thou brook the mockery and the scorn,
When thou on S'iva's bull art meanly borne ?—G.)

(বিবাহের দেখি আর এক বিড়ম্বনা,
গজেন্দ্র-বাহন তব যোগ্য বরাননা ।

বৃদ্ধ-বৃষোপরি তোমা করি দরশন,

স্মেরানন হবে নাকি যত সাধুগণ ?)—R. L. B. .

The Brâhman says further that none knows S'iva's parentage (**अलक्ष्यजन्मता**) and his nakedness indicates his wealth (**दिगम्बरत्वेन निवेदितं वसु**)—K. S.—V-72. He then concludes by saying—

वरेषु यद्बालमृगाक्षि ! मृग्यते, तदस्ति किं व्यस्तमपि त्रिलोचने ?

(K. S.—V-72).

[O Fawn-eyed lady, is *any one* of those good things which people expect to find in a (worthy) bridegroom present in S'iva ?]

(বরে বরাননে ! যাহা চাহে জনগণে,

কিছুই কি আছে তাহা সেই ত্রিলোচনে ?)—R.L.B. .

Pārvati becomes irritated and says that only ignorant men speak of the great God in this manner. He does not need any adornments and appurtenances for—

विपत्प्रतीकारपरेण मङ्गलं निषेव्यते भूतिसमुत्सुकेन वा ।

जगच्छरण्यस्य निराशिषः सतः किमेभिराशोपहतात्मवृत्तिभिः ॥

(K. S.—V-76).

(Those who want to avert perils, or those who aspire after worldly pomp are in need of such auspicious means. But—

The world's Sole Refuge neither hopes nor fears

Nor seeks the objects of a small desire)—T. K. R. .

(বিপদ-বারণে কিম্বা ঐশ্বর্য্য-লভনে,

অন্বেষয় মাঙ্গলিক আশান্বিত জনে ।

জগৎ-শরণ্য যিনি বাসনা-বর্জ্জিত,
কি করিবে তাঁর দ্রব্য কাম-কলুষিত ?)

When the Brâhman is about to say something more, Umâ addresses her companion and tells her—

निवार्य्यतामालि ! किमप्ययं वटुः पुनर्विवक्षुः स्फुरितोत्तराधरः ।
न केवलं यो महतोऽपभाषते शृणोति तस्मादपि यः स पापभाक् ॥
—K. S.—V-83.

(Dear maiden ! bid yon eager boy depart ;
Why should the slanderous tale defile his heart ?
Most guilty who the faithless speech begins,
But he who stays to listen also sins.)—G.

(উত্তর-বিধানে পুনঃ স্ফুরিত-অধর
বটু কটু ভাষে সখি ! নিবারণ কর ;
মহাত্মা-নিন্দক শুধু নহে পাপভাগী,
সেও দোষী যে জন শ্রবণে অনুরাগী ॥)—R. L. B.

As Umâ is going to leave the place, the Brahmachâri who is none other than S'iva himself, assumes his own form and intercepts her—

तं वीक्ष्य वेपथुमती सरसाङ्गयष्टि-
र्निक्षेपणाय पदमुद्धृतमुद्वहन्ती ।
मार्गाचलव्यतिकराकुलितेव सिन्धुः
शैलाधिराजतनया न ययौ न तस्थौ ॥
अद्य प्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि ! तवास्मि दासः,
क्रीतस्तपोभिरिति वादिनि चन्द्रमौलौ ।
अह्नाय सा नियमजं क्लममुत्ससर्ज
क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते ॥(K. S.—V.-85-86).

(She saw, she trembled, like a river's course,
Checked for a moment in its onward force,
By some huge rock amid the torrent hurled,
Where erst the foaming waters madly curled,
One foot uplifted, shall she turn away ?
Unmoved the other, shall the maiden stay ?
The silver moon on S'iva's forehead shone,
While softly spake the God in gracious tone,
"O Gentle Maiden, wise and true of soul,
Lo, now I bend beneath thy sweet control ,
Won by thy penance, and thy holy vows,
Thy willing S'iva before thee bows."
He spake, and rushing through her languid frame
At his dear words returning vigour came.
She knew but this, that all her cares were o'er,
Her sorrows ended, she should weep no more!)—G. .

(কম্পান্বিত-কলেবরা, অঙ্গ-যষ্টি স্বেদেভরা,
সম্মুখে দেখিয়া উমা শিবে।
শূন্যে একপদ তাঁর, ভূমে এক পদ আর,
থাকা যা'য়া অনিশ্চিত ভেবে ॥
তরঙ্গিণী বেগবতী, আকুলিতা হয় অতি,
রোধে গিরি পথে তারে-যবে ॥
অবনতা উমা দেখি, চন্দ্রচূড় ক'ন ডাকি,
"আজি হতে দাস আমি তব।"
গৌরী শুনি এই কথা, দ্রুত ভুলে তপোব্যথা,
ক্লেশ তাঁর ফল ধরে নব॥)

The sixth canto begins with Gauri's asking S'iva through her companion to request her father to agree to the proposal of his marriage with her.

He then sends the seven sages and Arundhati (wife of Vas'ishtha, one of the sages) to the God of the Himālayas to ask him to consent to his marriage with his daughter. S'iva chooses Arundhati as one of the party for—

प्रायनैवंविधे कार्य्ये पुरन्ध्रीणां प्रगल्भता । (K.S.—VI-32).

(In such business—marriage-negotiations—the cleverness of matrons is always shown). They make the proposal to the mountain-god to which he after consulting his wife Menakā agrees—

शैलः सम्पूर्णकामोऽपि मेनामुखमुदैक्षत ।
प्रायेण गृहिणीनेत्राः कन्यार्थेषु कुटुम्बिनः ॥

(K.S.—VI-85).

[Though the mountain-god was very willing to give his consent, yet he looked at his wife to ascertain her opinion, for the head of a family always consults his wife regarding the interests of their daughters].

(যদিও সম্পূর্ণ কাম, তবু গিরি গুণ-বান
মেনকার মুখ-পানে চান
কন্যা-কার্য্য-প্রয়োজনে প্রায় দেখি গৃহী-গণে
গৃহিণীর বিধান প্রধান ।)—R. L. B .

Gauri who happens to be with her father at the time when the proposal is being made, though evidently delighted, looks downwards and passes her time in counting the petals of toy-lotuses—

लीलाकमलपत्राणि गणयामास पार्व्वती—(K. S.—VI-84). .

In the seventh canto after the day of the marriage has been fixed, the parents of Gauri are des-

cribed as bestowing their most loving attention on her, who is going to leave them soon. The arrangements for the nuptials are made on a grand scale. The beautiful Umā, is adorned with the greatest care. One of her friends while besmearing her feet with alaktaka (lac-dye) humorously remarks that her feet should touch the moon-crest on her husband's head, and is struck by Umā playfully with her garland—

पत्युः शिरश्चन्द्रकलामनेन, स्पृशेति सख्या परिहासपूर्व्वम् ।
सा रञ्जयित्वा चरणौ कृताशीर्माल्येन तां निर्वचनं जघान ॥

(K. S.—VII-19).

("Lay this dear foot upon thy lover's head
Crowned with the moon, the laughing maiden said,
Who dyed her lady's feet—no word spake she
But beat her with her wreath in playful glee)—G.

(অলক্ত-রঞ্জন করি আরক্ত চরণে ;
আশীর্ব্বাদ করে সখী, রহস্যবচনে,
"ইথে প্রহারিও পতি-শির-শশীকলা" ;
শুনি তারে ফুল-হারে প্রহারে বিমলা ॥) R. L. B.

As Menakā is agitated by the mingled feeling of joy on account of her daughter's marriage and sorrow for her losing her, and her eyes are filled with tears, she can neither paint properly the mark on the forehead of her girl nor bind correctly the sacred thread on her arm—

बबन्ध चास्राकुलदृष्टिरस्याः स्थानान्तरे कल्पितसन्निवेशम् ।
धात्र्यङ्गुलीभिः प्रतिसार्य्यमाणमूर्णामयं कौतुकहस्तसूत्रम् ॥

K. S.—VII-25.

(আনন্দের অশ্রু-ধারা নয়নেতে ক্ষরে,
ঊর্ণাময় সূত্র রাণী বাঁধে স্থানান্তরে
আসিয়া উমার ধাত্রী কৌতুক-অন্তরে
যথাস্থানে কৌতুক বান্ধিল তারপরে ॥)—R. L. B.

(On Umā's rounded arm this woollen band
Was fixed securely by the nurse's hand.
Blind with tears that filled her swimming eye,
In vain the mother strove the band to tie.

—G.

Being attended by all the gods of Heaven and giving up for the time being the symbols of asceticism, but still being unwilling to part with his old ox as his conveyance, the bridegroom on the day of his marriage comes to the house of his future wife. The gods who are formally introduced to S'iva greet him who acknowledges their salutation thus—

कम्पेन मूर्ध्नः शतपत्रयोनिं, वाचा हरिं वृत्रहणं स्मितेन ।
आलोकमात्रेण सुरानशेषान् सम्भावयामास यथाप्रधानम् ॥ K.S.-VII-46.

(He spoke to Vishnu, and on Indra smiled,
To Brahmâ bowed—the lotus' mystic child.
On all the hosts of heaven his friendly eye,
Beamed duly welcome as they crowded nigh)—G.

(বিধি সম্ভাষিল শিব শির-সঞ্চালনে,
বাক্য-যোগে সম্ভাষণ সরোজাক্ষ-সনে,
মৃদুহাস্য-যোগে শচীনাথে সম্ভাষণ,
অপর দেবতা প্রতি করি বিলোকন ॥) —R. L. B.

This is prosaic and gives a clue to the etiquette of the Gupta court and resembles that of the courts of

modern potentates or their respresentatives.//The description of the young women of the Himālayan Capital, who in their eagerness to see the bridegroom, leave their toilet incomplete, resembles that of the ladies of Vidarbha, who leave their household duties and come to the gilt windows of their mansions to look at the marriage-procession of Aja and Indumati (R.V.-VII). The marriage-ceremony is duly performed; and ends with the representation of a drama in which the nymphs of Paradise play their parts.—

तौं सन्धिषु व्यञ्जितवृत्तिभेदं रसान्तरेषु प्रतिबद्धरागम् ।
अपश्यतामप्सरसां मुहूर्त्तं प्रयोगमाद्यं ललिताङ्गहारम् ॥

K. S.– VII-91.

(বিকসিত বৃত্তিচয় চারু অঙ্গ-ভঙ্গে,
রসান্তরে রাগান্তর বাঁধিয়ে স্বরঙ্গে,
অপ্সরে দেখায় আত্মলীলার চটক,
দেখেন দম্পতী দিব্য নাটিকা নাটক ॥)—R. L. B.

(Now for a while they gaze where maids divine
In graceful play the expressive dance entwine ;
Whose eloquent motions, with an actor's art,
Show to the life the passions of the heart). —G.

The seventh canto ends with S'iva's revival of the God of Love in compliance with the request of the gods.

In the eighth canto the love-episode of the divine pair is described by the Poet in glowing colours in accordance with the rules of Kāmas'āstra. Some critics are of opinion that Kālidāsa whose Ishtadevatā is Mahes'wara, cannot be its author. But Dr. Keith,

though accepting the statement that the nine cantos (IX to XVII) are not written by Kālidāsa, is of opinion that he is the author of the eighth. "To Kālidāsa the love of the divine pair is no idle myth—it is reality, leading to the birth of a god destined to do good to the world; and the affection of the divine pair is symbolic of the love which ought to be reproduced on earth between husband and wife. Suggestion is the soul of poetry; in the description, in the Kumāras´ambhava as in the Meghaduta of superhuman love, we have the exemplar for love on earth. Viewed thus the poem gains greatly in attractiveness and permits us to enjoy the marvellous feeling for nature and power of depicting human emotion which Kālidāsa displays,[1]"

In this canto, S´iva's loving description of the various regions of the Himālayas in their honey-moon journey resembles Rāma's glowing description to Sitā of the various localities through which their aerial chariot passes on their return-journey to Ayodhyā from Lankā in the thirteenth canto of Raghuvams´am. Here ia a beautiful description of the splendours of the evening sky—

पश्य पश्चिमदिगन्तलम्बिना, निर्म्मितं मितकथे ! विवस्वता ।
दीर्घया प्रतिमया सरोऽम्भसां, तापनीयमिव सेतुबन्धनम् ॥

K. S.—VIII-34.

(See my Beloved ! how the sun
With beams that o'er the water shake,

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1. C. S. L. p. 40.

From western skies has now begun
A bridge of gold across the lake)—T. K. R. .

(পশ্চিম গগনে দেখ ভানু অস্তমিত,
দীর্ঘ তাঁর প্রতিচ্ছায়া সরসি উপরি,
মিতভাষি-প্রিয়ে মোর, করেছে গঠিত
স্বর্ণময় সেতু যেন আবরিয়া বারি।)

Again—

रक्तपीतकपिशाः पयोमुचां, कोटयः कुटिलकेशि ! भान्त्यमूः ।
द्रक्ष्यसि त्वमिति सान्ध्यवेलया, वर्त्तिकाभिरिव साधुवर्त्तिताः ॥

—K. S.—VIII-45.

(রক্ত-পীত-কৃষ্ণরাগে, অই দেখ পুরোভাগে,
কত শত নীরদ-নিকর,
তাহে যেন সন্ধ্যা সতী, নানাবিধ বর্ণবতী
তূলিকায় চিত্র কলেবর ॥)—R. L. B. .

(O Darling curly-haired ! in west arrayed,
Behold clouds ashy, yellow and bright red:
With her brush Eve has drawn, it seems, on sky
Cloud-pictures as with finest paintings vie).

The Moon now rises in his mild splendour. S'iva says to Pārvati—

अङ्गुलीभिरिव केशसञ्चयं, सन्निगृह्य तिमिरं मरीचिभिः ।
कुड्मलीकृतसरोजलोचनं, चुम्बतीव रजनीमुखं शशी ॥

—K. S.—VIII-63.

(Moon-fingers move the black, black hair
Of Night into its proper place,
Who shuts her eyes, the liles fair,
As he sets kisses on her face)—T. K. R. .

(তিমির-অলকা-গুচ্ছ করিয়া গ্রহণ,
মরীচি-অঙ্গুলি-দ্বারা, স্থাপি যথাস্থানে,
প্রণয়-আবেগে চন্দ্র করিল চুম্বন,
মুদিত-কমল-আঁখি আঁধার-বদনে ॥)

In this lovely spot, the Divine pair live happily for many years.

The eighth canto cannot be the fit ending of the epic, because the Kumāra has not as yet been born, nor has the demon, for whom he is to be born, been destroyed.

The ninth canto, continues the amours of S'iva and Umā and describes Siva's making fire the receptacle of his semen, from which the god Kārtikeya will be born, and the coming of the gods to S'iva to remind him of their oppression by Tāraka.

In the tenth canto is described the languishing Agni's transferring according to Indra's advice S'iva's semen to the Mandākini, from whom it passes into the the wombs of the six stars, called Krittikās, when they bathe in the river. Being unable to retain it, they give birth to a six-faced child, whom they cast away in a forest of reeds.

The eleventh canto describes Mandākini's (Heavenly Ganges') suckling the beautiful infant, S'iva and Umā's finding in their pleasure-trip Agni, Mandākini and Krittikās quarrelling with one another for the possession of the child, his being taken away by his parents, the celebration of his birth at Kailāsa and the sports of the divine child. "He learns to walk, gets dirty in the court-yard

pulls the scanty hair of an old servant and learns to count: one, nine, two, ten, five, seven"[1].

In the twelfth canto the gods with Indra as their leader approach S'iva again with the request that he should allow his son Kârtikeya to become their general in their fight for regaining possession of Heaven, of which they have been dispossessed by the demon Târaka, to which the god Mahes'vara agrees.

The thirteenth canto narrates the re-entry of the fearful gods under their new general Kârtikeya into the city of Indra, the beauty and splendour of which have been destroyed by the Demon.

The fourteenth canto gives a graphic account of the military array of the host of gods under Kārtikeya.

In the fifteenth canto is narrated the marching of the army of the gods against the Asuras, whose chief disregards all evil omens and heavenly warnings and defies the gods and their new general.

A detailed account is given in the sixteenth canto of the great fight between the gods and the demons who are seated on elephants and horses, and some of whom fight on foot. Before the commencement of the fight—

युद्धाय धावतां धीरं वीराणामितरेतरम् ।
वैतालिकाः कुलाधीशा नामान्यलमुदाहरन् ॥
(কুলপতি বৈতালিক ঘোষে ধীর স্বরে,
যোদ্ধৃ-দ্বয়-নাম, যাঁরা উদ্যত সমরে।)

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1. T. K. R.—p. 173. .

(As pairs of champions stood forth
To test each other's fighting worth,
The bards who knew the family fame
Proclaimed aloud each mighty name)—T. K. R. .
Then the battle rages and—

गृहीताः पाणिभिर्वीरैर्विकोशाः खड्गराजयः।
कान्तिजालच्छलाद्राजौ व्यहसन् संमदादिव॥

(K. S.—XVI-13).

(And many a warrior's eager lance
Shone radiant in the eerie dance,
A curling, lapping tongue of death
To lick away the soldier's breath)—T. K. R. .

(নিষ্কোষিত অসি-রাজি যবে বীরগণ,
সুদৃঢ় বাহুতে তাঁরা করেন গ্রহণ;
চতুর্দ্দিকে করে খড়্গ কান্তি বিকীরণ,
রৌদ্র-হাস্যে যেন দীপ্ত সমর-বদন।)

The war-horse remains faithful to its master up to the last moment—

तुरङ्गसादिनं शस्त्रहतप्राणं गतं भुवि।
अबद्धोऽपि महावाजी न साश्रुनयनोऽत्यजत्॥

(K. S—XVI-42).

(The war-horse, though unguided, stopped
The moment that his rider dropped,
And wept above the lifeless head,
Still faithful to his master dead.)—T. K. R. .

(অস্ত্রহত ভূপতিত অশ্বসাদী বীর,
অবদ্ধ যদ্যপি তাঁর তুরঙ্গ মহান্,

অশ্রুপূর্ণ আঁখি তার, থাকে হয়ে স্থির,
প্রভুদেহ যেথা, নাহি ত্যজে সেই স্থান ॥)

The last canto describes how Kārtikeya after rendering useless Tāraka's snake-snare, storm-weapon, and fire-arrow which torment and demoralise the gods, hurls his formidable lance, called S'akti, against the Demon and kills him to the unbounded delight of the gods, who are restored to their kingdom—

इति विषमशरारेः सूनुना जिष्णुनाजौ, त्रिभुवनवरशल्ये प्रोद्धृते दानवेन्द्रे ।
वलरिपुरथ नाकस्याधिपत्यं प्रपद्य, व्यजयत सुरचूडारत्नघृष्टाग्रपादः ॥

(K.S.—XVII-55).

(Thus did the victorious son of S'iva extirpate the Demon-king, a painful thorn in the side of the gods and restore to Indra his Paradise. To him the gods bowed with their begemmed crowns).

Dr. Keith thinks that the last nine cantos could not have been written by Kālidāsa, as he would not have repeated the same phrases and prepositional compounds, would not have filled his verses with meaningless words like *sadyas* and *alam*, and would not have repeated *su* to a monotonous and sometimes to a meaningless length, as he does in the eleventh canto, where in eighteen lines of poetry, we find सुतं, सुखान्तरं, सुविस्मय, सुधा, सुरस्त्रवर्त्म्या and सुखाश्रु. A few lines further on we find सुमङ्गलं, सुमन्द्रं, सुसन्धि, सुवृत्त, and सुमुदां following one another in quick succession. It is true that Kālidāsa could never write such jingling rhymes as—

गङ्गावारिणि कल्याणकारिणि श्रमहारिणि ।
स मग्नो निवृ'तिं प्राप पुण्यभारिणि तारिणि ॥

(K. S.—X-36).

It appears that some reason—it may have been the adverse criticism of the eighth canto or more probably the desire to begin a better work, and also his realisation of the fact that Kumārasambhavam has been becoming monotonous—may have led him to discontinue the work for sometime, but seeing in his old age the incompleteness of the epic of his Ishtadevatā, he may have asked some one else working under his supervision to finish it. It we reject the last nine cantos as spurious, the title of the poem as the birth of the war-god will have no meaning, and the prayer of the lesser gods to Brahmā for the destruction of the formidable demon Tāraka will become fruitless.

The remarks of Mr. Ryder in this connexion are worth study—

"It has been sometimes thought that we have less than Kālidāsa wrote, partly because of a vague tradition that there were once twenty-three cantos, partly because the customary prayer is lacking at the end. These arguments are not very cogent. Though the concluding prayer is not given in form, yet the stanzas, which describe the joy of the universe, fairly fill its place. And one does not see with what matter further cantos would be concerned, The action promised in the earlier part is completed in the seventeenth canto.

It has been somewhat more formidably argued

that the concluding cantos are spurious, that Kâlidâsa wrote only the first seven or perhaps the first eight cantos. Yet after all, what do these arguments amount to ? Hardly more than this—that the first eight cantos are better poetry than the last nine......... Fighting is not Kâlidāsa's forte ; love is. Even so, there is great vigour in the journey of Tāraka, the battle and the duel. If we reject the last nine cantos ....the poem would be glaringly incomplete......... and we should have a *Birth of the War-god* in which the Poet stopped before the war-god was born. (Further the poem) has a unity which is lacking in (his) Dynasty of Raghu, though in this epic too the interest shifts. Pārvati's love-affair is the matter of the first half, Kumāra's fight with the demon the matter of the second half. Further it must be admitted that the interest runs a little thin.........The Birth of the War-god pays for its greater unity by a poverty of adventure".[1]

Meghadutam.

Kâlidâsa's Meghaduta or Cloud-messenger is one of the finest lyrical gems in the whole province of

1. T. K. R.—pp. 179-80.

literature and has won the eulogy of Goethe. It contains one hundred and twenty stanzas, each of which consists of four lines of Mandākrānta metre of seventeen syllables, with caesuras at the fourth and tenth syllables. "A much ampler means of expression of a single thought is thus available than within the restricted limits of Indravajrā and Vamśasthā, which make up more than half of Ritusamhāra; but at the same time a severe strain is imposed on the capacity of the Poet, but one to which he shows himself equal."[1]

The theme is a message sent through a Cloud by a love-lorn Yaksha banished to Râmagiri for neglect of duty by his master, to his pining wife in a beautiful mansion at the charming town of Alakā, the seat of Kuvera, the God of Riches, on the splendid mountain Kailāsa, the abode of the Highest God and Goddess—Śiva and Pârvati. This idea has been borrowed by Schiller in his tragedy, Maria Stuart. Mary after a long seclusion is once more permitted to behold the cheerful sky. "In the joy of momentary freedom, she forgets that she is still a captive; she addresses the clouds, the sailors of the air, who are not subjects of Elizabeth and bids them carry tidings of her to the hearts that love her in other lands".[2] Kālidâsa's Meghaduta led to the composition of similar works, i.e. Hamsaduta, Padâmkaduta, Pavanaduta and Kokiladuta. But if anything suggested the writing of his Meghaduta, it might be Rāma's

1.—C. S. L.—p. 36.
2. Carlyle's Schiller—p. 134.

sending a message to Sitā in Lankā through Hanumān, as the Poet makes the Yaksha say to his wife through the Cloud, when on reaching his house at Alakā it will begin to give his message to her—

इत्याख्याते पवनतनयं मैथिलीवोन्मुखी सा,
त्वामुत्कण्ठोच्छ्वसितहृदया वीक्ष्य सम्भाव्य चैव (श्रोष्यति)—
(M. D.-II—39).

(This being said, she, i. e., my wife, being as anxious as Sitā was to listen to Hanumān, will eagerly and attentively hear thy message after looking at and greeting thee.) Hanumān is the son of Pavana, and the Cloud's companion is Pavana[1].

The Cloud is persuaded by the Yaksha to undertake this long journey, as it, though circuitous, shall be pleasant, and as the Cloud will be enabled to see beautiful and memorable sights and to acquire religious merit by visiting sacred places, and to perform, besides minor good deeds, a great act of charity—viz., the carrying of the Yaksha's message to his love-lorn Beloved. The Yaksha further points out that winds and birds will encourage the Cloud to undertake this journey—

मन्दं मन्दं नुदति पवनश्चानुकूलो यथा त्वां,
वामश्चायं नदति मधुरं चातकस्ते सगर्व्वः। (M.D.—I-9.)
ধীর সমীরণ স্বস্বনে বহিবে,
অনুকূল-পথে তোমার সনে,
গর্ব্বিত চাতক মধুর গাহিবে
তব বাম ভাগে পুলক-মনে। —B. C. M.

1. Kālidāsa by Mr. Dvivedi—p. 169.

The Yaksha adds that the Cloud should disregard the winding nature of its route, for its eyes will be useless, if it does not see Ujjaini and its beautiful girls—

विद्युद्दामस्फुरितचकितैर्यत्र पौराङ्गनानां,
लोलापाङ्गैर्यदि न रमसे लोचनैर्वञ्चितः स्याः । (M. D.—I-27).

(Those glancing eyes, those lightning looks unseen,
Dark are thy days, and thou in vain hast been)-W.

(বৃথা আঁখি, যদি না দেখ সেথায়
যুবতীর ভীত নয়ন-কোণে,
চকিত কটাক্ষ, যবে তব গায়
তীব্র স্ফুরণে দামিনী খেলে !) —B. C. M.

Part of the route suggested to the Cloud by the Yaksha has already been described (see p. 156).

The Cloud after a prolonged journey will reach mount Kailâsa. It is covered with a white mantle of snow, which serves the nymphs as their mirror and resembles the accumulated laughter of the white God of gods, who roams with his consort Pârvati in this, their pleasure-garden. The Yaksha hopes that the Cloud will be able to recognise easily the city of Alakâ and adds (see also p. 41)—

Where palaces in much may rival thee—
Their ladies gay, thy lightning's dazzling powers—
Symphonic drums, thy thunder's melody—
Their bright mosaic floors, thy silver showers—
Thy rainbow, paintings, and thy height, cloud-
licking towers,—T. K. R.

The Poet bestows all the wealth of his imagery on

the description of this heavenly city. Nature revels here with fragrant flowers, intoxicated bees, lotus-tanks, peacocks expanding their beautiful tails and moonlit nights. This is the place—

आनन्दोत्थं नयनसलिलं यत्र नान्यैर्निमित्तै-
र्नान्यस्तापः कुसुमशरजादिष्टसंयोगसाध्यात् ।
नाप्यन्यत्र प्रणयकलहाद्विप्रयोगोपपत्ति-
र्वित्तेशानां न च खलु वयो यौवनादन्यदस्ति ॥

(M.D.—II-4).

(যেথা, আঁখিনীর ঝরে সে হরষে,
নাহি অন্য কোন কারণ তার ;
নাহি তাপ, বিনা ফুল-শর-বশে,
প্রিয়-সমাগমে হরণ যার ;
নাহিক বিরহ, বিনা মান-ভরে—
সাধের কণ্টক পীরিতি-ফুলে—
নাহি অন্য বয়ঃ নারী কিম্বা নরে,
বিনা সে যৌবন ধনেশ-কুলে ।) —B. C. M.

(Where tears are shed for nothing else but joy ;
Sole pain from Love's darts unions destroy ;
Short parting only quarrelling lovers know,
Kuvera's clan no age but youth doth show.)

Here Yaksha girls bathe in the cool waters of of the Mandākini, and while resting under the shade of the Mandāra trees growing on its banks, play with the gems found in the gold-dust, which serves the purpose of sand.

The description of the city of Alakā resembles to

some extent that of the capital of the God of the Himâlayas in Kumārasambhavam (VI—40 to 45).

Then the Cloud is to proceed to the Yaksha's house, which is situated to the north of the palace of his master, the god of riches. The portico of his house is beautified with the colours of the rainbow. At one extremity of the compound, is a small Mandâra tree which has been planted by his wife and fostered by her with a motherly care. The tank close to her house is full of lotuses and swans, on the bank of which rises their pleasure-hill, adorned with As´oka and Vakula flowers. In the room adjoining he will be able to find a woman emaciated by her prolonged separation from her husband—

तां जानीथाः परिमितकथां जीवितं मे द्वितीयं,
दूरीभूते मयि सहचरे चक्रवाकीमिवैकाम्।
गाढोत्कण्ठां गुरुषु दिवसेष्वेषु गच्छत्सु बालाम्।
जातां मन्ये शिशिरमथितां पद्मिनीं वान्यरूपाम्॥ —M.D.II-22.

(Lone as the widowed Chakravāki mourns,
Her faithful memory to her husband turns;
And sad, and silent, shalt thou find my wife,
Half of my soul, and partner of my life,
Nipped by chill sorrow, as the flowers enfold
Their shrinking petals for the withering cold)-W.

(জীবন-রূপিণী সেই সে আমার,
একা চক্রবাকী বিরহে মোর,
কথাটী মুখেতে ফুটে নাক তার,
মরম-যাতনা এমনি ঘোর !

আহা, মরি, ভাই, বিষাদ-মথনে
সে রূপের ছটা আর কি আছে,
বুঝিবা নিশিতে শিশির-দলনে
নলিনীর মত শুকায়ে গেছে।)—B. C. M..

Her eyes have become inflamed by continuous lamentation, and her lips discoloured by frequent sighs, Though trying to divert herself with a song of which her husband is the theme, she is unable to recall the appropriate music. The Cloud is to tell her that her husband, being separated from her, has become more dead than alive, and that he frequently complains.—

श्यामास्वङ्गं चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपातं
वक्त्रच्छायां शशिनि शिखिनां बर्हभारेषु केशान्।
उत्पश्यामि प्रतनुषु नदीवीचिषु भ्रूविलासान्,
हन्तैकस्मिन् क्वचिदपि न ते चण्डि! सादृश्यमस्ति॥ M.D.—II-43.

(Goddess beloved, how vainly I explore
The world to trace the semblance I adore;
Thy graceful form the flexile tendril shows;
And like thy locks the peacock's plumage glows;
Mild as thy cheeks, the moon's new beams appear,
And mild those soft eyes adorn the timid deer;
In rippling brooks thy curling brows I see,
But only view combined these charms in thee;)-W..

(লতিকায় চারু দেহের গঠন,
শশধরে কম-কপোল আভা,
চকিত-হরিণী-আঁখিতে নয়ন,
শিখি-পুচ্ছ-ভারে চিকুর-শোভা,

তটিনীর ছোট বঙ্কিম তরঙ্গে
দেখি সে ভুরুর, মধুর খেলা,
কিন্তু, হায়, প্রিয়ে, বিনা তব অঙ্গে
না দেখিনু একে সবার মেলা।)—B. C. M..

He asks the Cloud to tell his wife that when he tries to console himself with a rough portrait of his Beloved and himself, cruel Fate stands in the way—

त्वामालिख्य प्रणयकुपितां धातुरागैः शिलाया-
मात्मानं ते चरणपतितं यावदिच्छामि कर्त्तुम्।
अस्रैस्तावन्मुहुरुपचितैर्दृष्टिरालुप्यते मे,
क्रूरस्तस्मिन्नपि न सहते सङ्गमं नो कृतान्तः॥

(M. D.—II-44).

(And when I paint that loving jealousy
With chalk upon the rock and my caress,
As at thy feet I lie, I cannot see
Through tears that to mine eyes unbidden press—
So stern a fate denies a painted happiness)T.K.R. .

মুরতি তোমার ক্রুদ্ধ মান-ভরে,
গৈরিকে আঁকিয়া শিলার গায়,
চাহিনু যখন বিহ্বল অন্তরে,
লুটাতে সে চারু কোমল পায়,
সলিলের উৎস ছুটিয়া আঁখিতে
আঁধারে ঢাকিল সে প্রিয় লেখা—
অহো, ক্রুর বিধি পারে না সহিতে
তোমাতে আমাতে এ হেন দেখা ! —B. C. M. .

Mr. Pāthak says that this is one of the best verses in the writings of Kâlidāsa. The Yaksha now requests

the Cloud to ask his wife to exercise patience only for four months and not to distrust her husband—

एतस्मान्मां कुशलिनमभिज्ञानदानाद्विदित्वा,
मा कौलीनादसितनयने मय्यविश्वासिनी भूः।
स्नेहानाहुः किमपि विरहे ध्वंसिनस्ते त्वभोगा-
दिष्टे वस्तुन्युपचितरसाः प्रेमराशीभवन्ति ॥ M.D.-II-51.

(While thus, O Goddess with the dark black eyes,
My fond assurance confidence supplies ,
Let not the tales that idle tatlers bear,
Subvert thy faith, nor teach thee to despair :
True love no time nor distance can destroy,
And independent of all present joy,
It grows in absence, as renewed delight,
Some dear memorials, some loved lines excite)—W..

(এই অভিজ্ঞানে, সুনীল-নয়না
শুভাকাঙ্ক্ষী মোরে জানিও তব,
অবিশ্বাস মম কথায় করো না,
প্রবাদে যা রটে অলীক সব ;
মিথ্যা কথা, স্নেহ বিরহে পালায় ;
প্রিয়ের চিন্তায় করিয়ে ভর,
বাড়ে নিতি নিতি, শেষে হয়ে যায়
হৃদয় জ্বলন্ত প্রেমের থর।)—B. C. M. .

His wife will then make over to the Cloud a memento and a message which, as he is his kind friend, he will hand over to him after the completion of his return-journey and save his life. If the Cloud perform this act of great charity, then—

एतत् कृत्वा प्रिय मनुचितप्रार्थनावर्त्तिनो मे,
सौहार्दाद्वा विधुर इति वा मय्यनुक्रोशबुद्ध्या।
इष्टान् देशान् जलद ! विचर प्रावृषा सम्भृतश्री-
र्माभूदेवं क्षणमपि च ते विद्युता विप्रयोगः ॥ —M.D.—II-54.

(এ বিধুর প্রাণে করুণা করিয়ে
কিম্বা বন্ধুতায়, (যে কোন ভাবে),
অনুচিত মম প্রার্থনা ক্ষমিয়ে,
এ প্রিয় কার্যটি সাধিতে হবে ;
পরে, ধরি নব শোভা বরষায়,
যাও যেবা দেশ মনেতে লয়,
যেন গো তোমাতে দামিনী-লতায়
এ হেন বিচ্ছেদ কভু না হয় !)—B. C. M.

(For friendship or by misery distressed,
By you fulfilled, unfit though my request,
To all the scenes your heart points you the way,
In rainy beauty freely roam you may ;
May not one single moment from your side,
Your loved Lightning Spouse apart abide.)

The God of Riches, hearing the message of the Yaksha to his wife from the Cloud, gives him permission to return to Alakā and to his devoted wife (II-55). This last verse, as Mr. Pāthak says, seems to be spurious.

It may be said that a long poem of one hundred and twenty stanzas is disproportionate to the pang, which the two lovers may have felt for their separation lasting only for a year—a separation which is due to a condign punishment for the Yaksha's neg-

-lect of duty. But it must be borne in mind that the young lovers are intensely devoted to each other and that the Yaksha (who is दयिताजीवितालम्बनार्थी or desirous of sustaining the life of his Beloved) fears that if his wife does not receive any message from him in time, she may die a premature death. The length of the poem may also be explained by the fact that a circuitous journey has to be suggested to the Cloud in order to make its flight to Alakā as agreeable as possible, because so many places of interest cannot be found in any other route from Rāmagiri to Alakā. It redounds to the credit of the Yaksha that he does not utter a single word of complaint against Kuvera, his master, to whom his banishment has been due. His selection of the Cloud, which is made of smoke, heat, water and air, as his messenger, is due to the fact, as the Poet himself says, that love has so much occupied his mind that he has become unable to distinguish between the living and the non-living (M.D.—I—5).

Raghuvams'am.

The Raghuvams'a, Kālidāsa's epic masterpiece, is the distilled essence of whatever is best in the Kāvya style. The narrative moves with rapidity, and is not

impeded by long descriptions. The Poet adopts the southern or Vaidarbha style, which is much simpler than the eastern or Gaudi style. Sentiments predominate over ornaments—figures of sounds or s'abdālankāra and figures of thought or arthālankāra—which are not allowed to choke them. His similes are particularly happy and carried out in precise detail. Sometimes they are accumulated for effect. They are gathered from the whole realm of Nature and Man. Even Philosophy, Grammar, and Politics are made to yield their store. He rarely uses slesha or puns. Alliteration is abundant. There are several instances of the sound echoing the sense. He uses a large number of metres, fourteen or more, for preventing his long epic consisting of nineteen cantos from becoming monotonous.

The subject-matter is partly derived from the Rāmâyana of Vâlmiki, the Padma Purâna and the Vishnu Purâna and mostly from his inventive imagination.

The first canto begins with the Poet's invocation to S'iva and Pârvati. Then he dwells on the magnitude of the task, he has undertaken, of describing the achievements of the celebrated Raghu dynasty and incidentally of the Gupta sovereigns, who are his patrons—

मन्दः कवियशःप्रार्थी गमिष्याम्युपहास्यताम् ।
प्रांशुलभ्ये फले लोभादुद्बाहुरिव वामनः ॥

... ...

सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानामाफलोदयकर्मणाम् ।
आसमुद्रक्षितीशानामानाकरथवर्त्मनाम् ॥ R. V.– I- 3 and 5.

(For, dullard though I am,
I seek a poet's fame, and risk men's jeers,
A dwarf who stretches tiny arms to grasp.
Fruit hung well-nigh beyond a giant's reach.

... ...

So Raghu's line I sing,—pure from their birth
Who till they won success worked on, and ruled
Earth to the sea : their car-track reached to
Heav'n.)—P.D.L J. .

মূঢ় আমি, কবিকীৰ্ত্তি লভিতে পাগল,
এহেন প্রয়াসে মোর হাসিবে ভুবন ;
উচ্চ বৃক্ষে প্রাংশুজনে লভে যেই ফল,
সে ফলে বাড়ানু কর হইয়া বামন!

... ...

আজন্ম-বিশুদ্ধ রঘুকুল-রাজগণ
শাসিলেন সসাগর অবনী-মণ্ডল ;
করিতেন বিমানেতে স্বর্গে বিচরণ,
করি কার্য্য লভিতেন সদা পূর্ণ ফল) —N. D. .

They are Kâlidāsa's ideal kings resolute in the attainment of their ends, pious in the performance of sacrifices, charitable to the needy, impartial as judges, sparing in the use of words for the sake of truth, marrying for the sake of sons, spending their youth in the acquisition of knowledge, and though given to enjoyment in their youth, living the life of ascetics in their old age.

The God of the Sun has a son named Manu from whom Dilipa is descended. Dilipa's body and mind are equally developed—

आकारसदृशप्रज्ञः प्रज्ञया सदृशागमः ।
आगमैः सदृशारम्भः आरम्भसदृशोदयः ॥ R.V—I-15.

(His vigorous mind
Matched with his beauty, while his Holy Lore
Was equal with them ; valour and success
Were twinned.) —P. D. L. J. .

(সুচারু আকার তাঁর, অন্তরে তেমতি
তীক্ষ্ণ বুদ্ধি, সেই মত শাস্ত্রেতে যতন ;
যেমন আগম-শিক্ষা, কার্য্যও তেমন,
কার্য্য অনুরূপ ফল লভেন সুমতি ।)—N. D.

He is an ideal ruler—

प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत् ।
सहस्रगुणमुत्स्रष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रविः ॥ R.V.-I-১৪.

(Save to guard the realm,
No tax was taken; so the sun derives
From earth that moisture which a thousandfold
He soon gives back in rain)—P.D.L.J. .

(সাধিবারে প্রজাদের অশেষ মঙ্গল
ষষ্ঠ ভাগ কর রাজা করেন গ্রহণ
সংগ্রহি সহস্র-রশ্মি ধরা হ'তে জল
করেন সহস্র গুণ পুনঃ বরষণ ।)—N. D. .

Though he is the lord of a vast kingdom and the husband of a devoted and accomplished wife, named Sudakshinā, the husband and wife pine for the birth of a son who will perpetuate the dynasty. They go to the hermitage of Vasishtha to ascertain from the sage the reason of their being sonless,

which, he assures them, is due to the king's neglect of Surabhi, the divine cow, and which will be obviated by their tending Nandini, the daughter of Surabhi, who is in the hermitage.

The second canto begins with the description of the king's and queen's living the life of simple cow-herds, and their affectionate and respectful tending of Nandini. After a long time the celestial cow tests the devotion of the king by creating an illusion, in which a lion appears to be ready to make the cow his prey. The king in trying to kill it becomes for the moment paralysed. He offers to the lion his own body instead, from which the lion tries his best to dissuade him—

तद्रक्ष कल्याणपरम्पराणां भोक्तारमूर्जस्वलमात्मदेहम् ।
महीतलस्पर्शनमात्रभिन्नमृद्धं हि राज्यं पदमैन्द्रमाहुः ॥
एतावदुक्त्वा विरते मृगेन्द्रे, प्रतिस्वनेनास्य गुहागतेन ।
शिलोच्चयोऽपि क्षितिपालमुच्चैः प्रीतया तमेवार्थमभाषतेव ॥

—R. V.—II—50 and 51.

(Save life and youth,)
Enjoy the goods of fate,—for Indra's state,
Save that thou dwell'st on earth, scarce passes thine—(P.D.L.J.)

The lion spoke and ceased ; but echo rolled
Forth from the caves wherein the sound was pent,
As if the hills applauded manifold,
Repeating once again the argument—(T. K. R.)

রাখ নিজ মহাবল-দেহ তেজীয়ান্,
জীবিত থাকিলে সুখ ভুঞ্জিবে অপার ;

কে না জানে রাজ্য-ভোগ ইন্দ্রত্ব সমান
যদিও এ মর্ত্ত্য-লোকে বিষয় তাহার ?
এ বলিয়া নিরবিল মৃগকুলপতি
গুহামুখে শৈল-রাজ করি প্রতিধ্বনি,
রাজারে কহিল যেন পুনঃ সে ভারতী
অদৃশ্যে ; আবার তাহা শুনিলা নৃমণি ।—N. D.

But the king persists—

क्षतात् किल त्रायत इत्युदग्रः, क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रूढः ।
राज्येन किं तद्विपरीतवृत्तेः प्राणैरुपक्रोशमलीमसैर्वा ॥

R. V—II-53.

(The Warrior's name
He only worthy bears who saves from harm ;
'Tis proverb-lore : who e'er betrays that trust
Would forfeit royal state and earn foul scorn)

—P. D. L. J.

(ক্ষত হ'তে ত্রাণ করে, ইহারি কারণ
মহান্ ক্ষত্রিয়-নাম খ্যাত ত্রিভুবনে ।
ইহার অন্যথাচার করে যেই জন
ধিক তার রাজভোগে, কলঙ্কী জীবনে !)—N. D.

The illusion disappears, Nandini is satisfied and promises the birth of a worthy son.

In the third canto are described the birth of Raghu, his childhood, his studies, and his learning of the art of war—

अथोपनीतं विधिवद्विपश्चितो विनिन्युरेनं गुरवो गुरुप्रियम् ।
अवन्ध्ययत्नाश्च बभूवुरत्र ते, क्रिया हि वस्तूपहिता प्रसीदति ॥

R. V.—III-29.

(Next the sacred cord,
That marked his second birth, the noble child
Assumed, and sages taught him, fruitful soil
For learning's seed : on well-prepared fields
What work men spend will prosper.)—P. D. L. J

(উপনয়নের পরে রাজার নন্দন
শিখিলা নিখিল শাস্ত্র গুরুর সদন ;
সফল গুরুর শিক্ষা হেন ছাত্রবরে,
সুপাত্রে করিলে যত্ন আশু ফল ধরে।—N. D

Then Dilipa celebrates Raghu's marriage with the daughter of a king, instals him as the heir-apparent and appoints him, as Pushyamitra does his grandson Vasumitra in Mâlavikâgnimitram, as the protector of his sacrificial horse, which is stolen by the jealous Indra, who fears Dilipa's attaining his eminence by his hundred horse sacrifices. Raghu fights valiantly for the horse with Indra, who is highly satisfied. Then on his return to the capital Raghu is heartily greeted by his delighted father, who being desirous of retiring from the world, instals him as the king of Kos´alā.

In the fourth canto Raghu is described after his accession to the throne as subduing the discontented chiefs of his kingdom and then setting out on an extensive conquest, which has already been narrated (see p.p. 97 ff.). On his return home he celebrates the Vis´vajit sacrifice, on the completion of which the conquered princes are allowed to go back to their kingdoms.

The fifth canto introduces to us the Brāhman Kautsa, who approaches Raghu, who has been rendered penniless by his sacrificial charities, with the request that he should give him fourteen crores of gold coins, being the fee demanded by his preceptor for his tuition. The king is extricated from this perplexity by Kuvera, who, being afraid of Raghu's prowess showers on his palace millions of gold coins, which he hands over to Kautsa, whose blessing leads to the birth of his worthy son, Aja.

After Aja's education is completed, Raghu sends him to the capital of the king of Vidarbha to attend the svayamvara ceremony of the princess Indumati. One evening he encamps on the bank of a river from which a wild elephant rises and attacks his party; and being wounded by Aja it is changed into a demigod, gives the prince a magic weapon, and departs to paradise. On Aja's reaching Vidarbha he is welcomed and luxuriously lodged for the night. The verses, in which Aja is roused from his sleep by the panegyrists at Vidarbha, are exceedingly beautiful and instructive—

रा वर्गता मतिमतां वर मुञ्च शय्यां धात्रा द्विधैव ननु धूर्जगतो विभक्ता ।
तामेकतस्तव बिभर्त्ति गुरुर्विनिद्रस्तस्या भवानपरधुर्य्यपदावलम्बी ॥

... ...

ताम्रोदरेषु पतितं तरुपल्लवेषु निर्धौतहारगुलिकाविशदं हिमाम्भः ।
आभाति लब्धपरभागतयाधरोष्ठे लीलास्मितं सदशनार्चिरिव त्वदीयम् ॥
यावत्प्रतापनिधिराक्रमते न भानुरह्नाय तावदरुणेन तमो निरस्तम् ।
आयोधनाग्रसरताम् त्वयि वीर ! याते किंवा रिपुंस्तव गुरुः स्वयमुच्छिनत्ति ॥

... ...

भवति विरलभक्तिर्म्लानपुष्पोपहारः स्वकिरणपरिवेषोद्भेदशून्याः प्रदीपाः।
अयमपि च गिरं नस्त्वत्प्रबोधप्रयुक्तामनुवदति शुकस्ते मञ्जुवाक् पञ्जरस्थः॥

R. V—V—66, 70, 71 and 74. .

("Awake, wise Prince! for darksome night is past!
And Brahmā now has cleft the weight of rule
Which half thy sire bears up and half thyself.

... ...

Now on the leaves
Tinged ruddy rests the dew, a pearly band
With double lustre, as thy gladsome smile
Plays o'er thy gleaming teeth. The dawn, fair Prince!
Dispels night's cloud until the sun arise,
Then ceases: shall thy sire then crush the foe,
Now thou art come to lead his armed host?

... ...

The flower-wreaths languish now, and now the lamps
Burn dim, and lose the halo of their rays,
And thy caged parrot, warbling cheerful notes,
Mocks this our morning hymn!".)—P. D. L. J. .

(সুপ্রভাত বিভাবরী, উঠ মহামতি;
দিলা বিধি পৃথ্বীভার দুইজন প্রতি;
এক দিকে তব পিতা করেন বহন,
অন্য দিকে বহ তুমি ত্যজিয়া শয়ন।

... ...

উষার তুষার-বিন্দু, যেন মুক্তাহার,
শোভিছে আরক্ত নব পল্লব উপর,
শোভে তথা হাসি-মাখা অধরে তোমার,
বিশদ দশন-পংক্তি, কিবা মনোহর!
না উঠিতে প্রভাকর উদয়-ভূধরে
রবিস্থত অরুণ নাশেন অন্ধকার ;
তব পিতা রঘুরাজ না যেতে সমরে,
অগ্রে যেয়ে তুমি শত্রু করহে সংহার।

... ...

উপহার পুষ্পমালা শিথিল মলিন,
নিস্তেজ প্রদীপ এবে পরিবেষ-হীন ;
আমাদের মুখে শুনি তব শুকবরে,
সুস্বরে প্রভাত-গীত গাইছে পিঞ্জরে।—N. D.

The sixth canto begins with the description of the svayamvara assembly of the Vidarbha princess. Each prince is seated on his ornamental elevated seat, and is adorned with every appurtenance of beauty like a veritable god. Then the princess arrives in a palanquin with her attendant Sunandā, and her beauty becomes the cynosure of a hundred eyes—

तस्मिन् विधानातिशये विधातुः कन्यामये नेत्रशतैकलक्ष्ये ।
निपेतुरन्तःकरणैर्नरेन्द्रा, देहैः स्थिताः केवलमासनेषु ॥

R. V.—VI-11.

(That perfect woman, Brahmā's last best work,
The goal of countless hearts, drew all their souls
Out through their eyes,—the lumpish clay alone
Remained behind)—P. D. L. J.

(বিধাতার বর সৃষ্টি সে নারী রতনে
হেরিতে সহস্র আঁখি পড়িল সেখানে ,
রাজগণ-দেহমাত্র রহিল আসনে,
মন প্রাণ গেল উড়ি ইন্দুমতী-পানে !)—N. D. .

Every prince tries his best to captivate Indumati. Then her attendant takes her first to the Emperor of Magadha and then to other princes, (see p.p. 85 ff.) and last of all to Aja. By means of a beautiful simile which has earned for the poet the title of Dipaśikhā-Kālidāsa (*cf.* A'tapatra-Bhārabi, Ghantā-Māgha &c), he describes how the princes are thrown into the shade by Indumati, when she passes by them—

सञ्चारिणी दीपशिखेवरात्रौ यं यं व्यतीयाय पतिंवरा सा ।
नरेन्द्रमार्गाट्ट इव प्रपेदे विवर्णभावं स स भूमिपालः ॥

(R. V.—VI-67).

(Now as the Maid went by, each suitor-king,
Lit for a moment by her dazzling eyes,
Like wayside tower by passing lamp, sank back
In deepest gloom). —P.D.L J. .

(যে যে রাজগণে ছাড়ি চলিলা যুবতী,
ডুবিল তাঁদের মুখ দুঃখের আঁধারে ;
রাজপথে দীপ-শিখা, নিশীথে যেমতি
গেলে চলি, হর্ম্ম্যরাজি ডুবে অন্ধকারে !)—N. D. .

Sunandā pointing out Aja to Indumati says—

कुलेन कान्त्या वयसा नवेन गुणैश्च तैस्तैर्विनयप्रधानैः ।
त्वमात्मनस्तुल्यममुं वृणीष्व रत्नं समागच्छतु काञ्चनेन ॥

(R.V.—VI-79).

(Choose him bright Maid! Thy peer
He only is in beauty, lineage, youth,
In virtues all, with modesty the chief—
Ah, let the pearl be set in finest gold !)—P.D.L.J.

(রূপে, গুণে, কুলে, শীলে, নবীন যৌবনে,
তব তুল্য এ কুমার, ওলো বরাননে ;
বর তাঁরে, নিরখিয়া জুড়াবে নয়ন,
রতনে কাঞ্চনে আহা হউক মিলন !)—N. D. .

When Sunandâ has finished her speech, Indumati accepts Aja as her husband with a tender glance, which is equivalent to the marriage-garland. But the attendant in her jesting mood asks Indumati to go to another prince—

तथागतायां परिहासपूर्व्वं सख्यां सखी वेत्रभृदाबभाषे ।
आर्य्ये ! व्रजामोऽन्यत इत्यथैनां वधूरसूयाकुटिलं ददर्श ॥

(R. V—VI-82.)

(Then smiling spake Sunandā, when she marked
The maiden's confusion—"Gracious Lady, now
Pass we to others !" She from angry eyes
Flashed fire, indignant)—P. D. L. J. .

(যুবতীর হেন ভাব করি দরশন,
পরিহাস-ছলে সখী কহিল তখন—
"চল ধনি, অন্য দিকে দেখ রাজগণে,"
রোষে বালা হেরে তারে কুটিল নয়নে ।)—N. D. .

Indumati selecting Aja as her bridegroom puts round his neck the sacred garland. The citizens approve of the selection—

शशिनमुपगतेयं कौमुदी मेघमुक्तं जलनिधिमनुरूपं जह्नुकन्यावतीर्णा।
इति समगुणयोगप्रीतयस्तत्र पौराः श्रवणकटु नृपाणामेकवाक्यं विवव्रुः ॥

(R. V.—VI-85).

("Here the cloudless moon
Wins clear effulgence ! Gangā's self unites
With her fit mate, wide Ocean !" loud rejoiced
In shouts like these, harsh to the rival kings,
The happy people, who delighted saw
Their virtues, else unmatched, now fity joined
In perfect union). —P. D. L. J. .

(তুল্যরূপ উভয়ের হেরিয়া মিলন,
এক বাক্যে প্রশংসিল পুরবাসিগণ—
"মিলিল কৌমুদী মেঘমুক্ত শশী সনে,
সমাগতা ভাগীরথী সাগর-সদনে !"
উঠিলা সভায় হেন আনন্দের ধ্বনি,
শুনিয়া ব্যথিত-চিত্ত যত নৃপমণি !)—N.D. .

The seventh canto begins with the celebration of the marriage of Aja with Indumati. The neglect of their toilet by the ladies of Vidarbha in their eagerness to see the bridegroom and the bride, resembles that of the women of the city of the god of the Himālayas, on the occasion of the marriage of S'iva and Pārvati described in the Kumārasambhava. Then the necessary religious rites are duly performed. The time for the departure of the bridegroom and the bride arrives. The king of Vidarbha accompanies the married pair for some distance. After he has left, the princes, who have come to the svayamvara and have been cherishing anger against the son of their con-

queror Raghu, and whose ire has been aggravated by their late disappointment at Vidarbha, intercept the marriage-procession. Aja first provides for the safety of Indumati A fight then ensues, many are slain, and many are severely wounded. When Aja finds that his army is about to retreat, he comes forward in his chariot and confronts the enemy. Aja's chariot is closely beset by them—

सोऽस्त्रव्रजैश्छन्नरथः परेषां ध्वजाग्रमात्रेण बभूव लक्ष्यः ।
नीहारमग्नो दिनपूर्वभागः किञ्चित् प्रकाशेन विवस्वतेव ॥ -R.V.-VII-60. .

(আচ্ছন্ন অজের রথ শত্রু-শরজালে,
কেবল ধ্বজের অগ্র হয় দরশন,
তুষারে ঊষার মুখ ঢাকিলে যেমন
রবিচ্ছবি ঈষৎ প্রকাশে তার ভালে।)—N. D. .

(Aja whose chariot was covered with the missiles of the enemy could only be distinguished by the upper end of his banner, as the early part of the day being enveloped by mist, is rendered visible by the partially-disclosed sun.) .

After fighting for sometime with his bow and arrow, he hurls against his foes his faint-inducing weapon, which sends them to sleep. Then with an arrow dipped in blood, he writes on their banners. "O kings, the son of Raghu has taken away your glory, but has graciously spared your lives." Then the blameless Aja places his left foot on the heads of the assembled princes. We find this idea of placing the left foot on the head of a conquered prince in several inscriptions of the Gupta period. Then be comes near his terror-stricken wife and cheers her up.

On his return to the capital with Indumati, his father abdicates and instals him as king—

तदुपहितकुटुम्बः शान्तिमार्गोत्सुकोऽभूत्,
न हि सति कुलधुर्य्ये सूर्य्यवंश्या गृहाय।

R. V.—VII-71.

(He then transferred the yoke
Of kingship to his son and eager turned
To tread himself the quiet way of Peace :
Such in the solar line is ever use
For monarchs, when their sons have come to age.)

—P. D. L. J.

(অজ-হস্তে যথাকালে রাখি পরিজন,
উৎসুক হইলা রঘু মুকতির তরে ;
যোগ্য পুত্রে সমর্পিয়া পৃথিবীর ভার,
সূর্য্যকুল-রাজকুল ত্যজেন সংসার ॥)—N. D.

The eighth eanto opens with the installation of Aja, which is duly performed by Vasishtha, the priest of the family. In the second verse of this canto the Poet makes the significant remark that Aja accepts royalty simply to comply with the command of his father and not for any thirst for enjoyment unlike other princes who try to misappropriate the kingdom by wicked means. Here may be a reference to the intrigues of the scions of the Gupta Dynasty on the occasion of the accession of Kumāragupta I. The king endears himself to his subjects and tributary princes by his equitable rule. He has strength only for dispelling the fear of the distressed, learning for honouring learned men, and wealth for

doing good to others. Here is a reference to his patronage of scholars. Raghu is dissuaded by Aja from retiring to the forest for spiritual contemplation. He now agrees to live the life of an ascetic in the outskirts of the city—

प्रशमस्थितपूर्वपार्थिवं कुलमभ्युद्यतनूतनेश्वरम् ।
नभसा निभृतेन्दुना तुलामुदिताकेंण समारुरोह तत् ॥
(R. V.—VIII.—15).

(Now in that kingly house the reverend sire,
Had chosen peace ; the son in vigour ruled ;
Bright as is Heav'n when day's great orb mounts high,
And sinks the moon).—P. D. L J..

(সূর্য্যকুলাকাশে আহা কি শোভা উদয় !
শমাশ্রমে অস্ত রঘু পূর্ণ শশধর ;
অন্য দিকে স্বর্ণাসনে সুমেরু উপর
উদিত অরুণ-রূপে রঘুর তনয় !)—N. D..

By a series of beautiful antitheses the Poet contrasts Raghu and Aja. The former seeks salvation (अपवर्ग), and the latter, earthly glory (महोदय) ; the former associates with devotees, the latter with politicians ; the former places himself on kuśa grass for mental concentration and the latter seats himself on a throne to administrer justice ; the former tries to control his bodily functions by spiritual meditation, the latter employs himself in subduing neighbouring princes by his prowess, the former engages himself in burning with the fire of true knowledge the fruits of his own actions (as they will otherwise lead to

rebirth), and the latter in rendering ineffectual the deeds of his foes. At last Raghu by means of spiritual meditation becomes capable of uniting his soul with the Eternal Soul. Aja sheds tears on hearing the death of his father, whose funeral rites he performs with the assistance of some ascetics without burning his body.

Now Aja becomes stunned by another calamity. While Indumati and he are in a pleasure-garden adjoining the city, the latter is killed by a garland (intended for S'iva) which falls from the lute of the sage Nārada who is travelling in the sky. His sorrow knows no bounds. Both animate and inanimate nature sympathise with him in his affliction (R. V. —VIII—39 and 70).

He laments by saying—

अथवा मृदु वस्तु हिंसितुं मृदुनैवारभते प्रजान्तकः ।
हिमसेकविपत्तिरत्र मे नलिनी पूर्वनिदर्शनं मता ॥
(R. V.—VIII—45).

(No ! Death was right. He spared the sterner anguish ;
Through gentle flowers your gentle life was lost,
As I have seen the lotus fade and languish
When smitten by the slow and silent frost)-T.K.R. .

(অথবা কোমল বস্তু করিতে সংহার,
মৃদু প্রহরণে কাল করেন প্রহার ;
সরসীর নীরে বিধি মৃদু নলিনীরে,
করেন বিনাশ হায় কোমল শিশিরে)—N. D. .

He adds—

इदमुच्छ्वसितालकं मुखं तव विश्रान्तकथं दुनोति माम्।
निशि सुप्तमिवैकपङ्कजम् विरताभ्यन्तरषट्पदस्वनम् ॥

(R. V.—VIII—55).

(Thy speechless) face, round which the curls are
keeping
Their scattered watch, is sad to look upon,
As in the night some lonely (lotus) sleeping
When musically humming bees are gone—T. K. R.

অলক-আবৃত তব নীরব বদন—
নিশায় নীরব অলি-গুঞ্জন বিহনে
মুদিত তমসাবৃত কমল যেমন—
নিরখি দুঃখের উৎস উথলিছে মনে।—N. D.

The bereaved king further says—

Many things, which disappear, return, but Indumati will never be restored to him—

शशिनं पुनरेति शर्वरी दयिता द्वन्द्वचरं पतत्रिणम्।
इति तौ विरहान्तरक्षमौ कथमत्यन्तगता न मां दहेः ॥

R. V.—VIII—56.

(Night regains her Moon
The cuckoo finds his mate, and parting's pangs
Are cured by meeting—how canst thou, O Love,
Destroy my life by leaving me for aye)—

P, D. L. J.

(মিলেন শশীর সহ নিশি দিবাশেষে,
উষা এলে চক্রবাকী মিলে পতি সনে,
সহিছে বিরহ তারা মিলনের আশে
এ চির বিরহ তব সহিব কেমনে ?)—N. D.

She has been every precious thing to him—

गृहिणी सचिवः सखी मिथः प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ ।
करुणाविमुखेन मृत्युना हरता त्वां वद किं न मे हृतम् ॥

R. V—VIII—67.

(গৃহিণী অমাত্য তুমি নিভৃত-সহায়,
প্রিয় শিষ্যা তুমি মম ললিত বিদ্যায় ;
হরিয়া নিদয় কাল তোমা হেন ধন,
অভাগার কিবা নাহি করিল হরণ ?)—N. D. .

(You were my comrade gay, my home, my treasure,
You were my bosom's friend, in all things true,
My best-loved pupil in the arts of pleasure,
Stern Death took all I had in taking you.)—T. K. R..

Aja's lamentation for his wife resembles that of Rati for her husband narrated in Kumārasambhava, with the difference that Rati is assured of her husband's revival in the near future, while to Aja Indumati has been lost for ever—hence the poignancy of his sorrow.

Then Vasishtha sends his disciple to console Aja in his bereavement by saying that death is the natural characteristic of living creatures, and life something unnatural—मरणं प्रकृतिःशरीरिणां विकृतिर्जीवितमुच्यते बुधैः, and by adding that he ought not to lament like common men, for then there will be no difference between a tree and a mountain if both be tossed by the storm—द्रुमसानुमतां किमन्तरं, यदि वायौ द्वितयेऽपि ते चलाः . Though the king respectfully accepts this consolation, it does not reach his heart, but it goes back to his preceptor along with his messenger.

As his son Das´aratha is a mere child, Aja has to carry on, though very unwillingly, the work of the administration for eight years, at the end of which after installing his son as king, he starves himself to death at the junction of the Sarayu and Ganges and becomes united in Paradise with his wife refulgent with heavenly beauty.

The ninth canto dwells on the virtues, prowess and rule of king Das´aratha of Uttara Kos´alā or Oudh. He imitates his grandfather Raghu, and conquers tbe whole of India from the ocean to his capital, which is as magnificent as the city of Kuvera described in the Meghaduta. Then he marries the three princesses, Kaus´alyā, Kaikeyi, and Sumitrā of Kos´alā, Kekaya and Magadha respectively. Now he celebrates the As´vamedha with due pomp and circumstance.

It is the season of spring—

कुसुमजन्म ततो नवपल्लवास्तदनु षट्पदकोकिलकूजितम् ।
इति यथाक्रममाविरभून्मधुर्द्रुमवतीमवतीर्य वनस्थलीम् ॥
R.V.—IX.—26.

(First burst the buds,
Then sprouted fresh green twigs, with hum of bees
And cuckoos' wooing note : through tree-clad glade
In order due thus Spring revealed himself) —
P. D. L. J. .

(সদলে বসন্ত-ঋতু হইল উদয়,
প্রকাশিল তরু-দলে নব কিশলয়,
পূরিল কানন-রাজি কোকিল-কাকলী,
নিকুঞ্জে ফুটিল ফুল, গুঞ্জরিল অলি)—N. D. .

The glowing description of Spring in this epic resembles in main particulars that given by the Poet in his Ritusamhâra. Das´aratha spends his honeymoon with his wives in the most delightful of all seasons.

After this he sets out on a hunting expedition, in which he is preceded by huntsmen with their hounds. He kills among others antelopes, buffaloes, rhinoceroses and lions. The Poet here gives a graphic description of the boar-hunt—

उत्तस्थुषः शिशिरपल्वलपङ्कमध्यान्मुस्ताप्ररोहकवलावयवानुकीर्णम् ।
जग्राह स द्रुतवराहकुलस्य मार्गं सुव्यक्तमार्द्रपदपंक्तिभिरायताभिः ॥
तं वाहनादवनतोत्तरकायमीषद्विध्यन्तमुद्धृतसटाः प्रतिहन्तुमीषुः ।
नात्मानमस्य विविदुः सहसा वराहा वृक्षेषु विद्धमिषुभिर्जघनाश्रयेषु ॥

(R. V.—IX-59-60)

(A path he followed, where the half-chewed grass
Had fallen and broad wet footprints clearly showed
Where ran a herd of boars, escaped with speed
From muddy pools they rolled in. Bristling high
They charged him boldly, while with death-fraught shafts,
His chest slight-bending from his horse, he shot
So dexterously, they knew not they were pinned
To trees 'gainst which they leaned).—P.D.L.J.

ত্যজি পল্বলের পঙ্ক বরাহ-নিকর
ধাইল, মুস্তার গ্রাস ঝরে মুখ হতে ;
আর্দ্র পদচিহ্নরাজি বিরাজিল পথে—
সেই পথে দশরথ হলো অগ্রসর ।

অশ্ব হ'তে অগ্রকায় নোয়ায়ে রাজন্,
ফুল্লকেশ বরাহেরে প্রহারিয়া বাণ,
পশ্চাৎ পাদপে তারে বিঁধিলা যখন
না জানে বরাহ তাহা, রোষে হতজ্ঞান।—N. D.

He shoots with his arrow the son of a hermit, who is filling his beaker with water from the Tamasā (Tons), the sound of which he mistakes for the subdued cry of a wild elephant, the killing of which, the Poet says, is forbidden. Hearing the cry of agony, the king hastens to the wounded boy, whom he carries to his old and helpless parents, who before ascending the funeral pyre, pronounce on the repentant king the curse that he will also die in his old age on account of his separation from his darling son. The king appreciates the curse for the reason that it assures him of the birth of a son for which he has been longing.

The tenth canto begins with the description of the sonless state of the king, and the advent of the gods to the Great God, Vishnu, who is lying on the hoods of the 'Ananta' or Infinite Snake in the limitless Ocean. They praise Him in an appropriate hymn (see Chap. VIII towards the end). Then they relate to him the oppression of the Rākshasa Rāvana, whose arrogance, the Great God says, has been increased by Brahmā's blessing— that he will never be conquered by gods. Nārāyana condescends to assume the human form and put an end to the Demon's tyranny.

The king celebrates a special sacrifice called Putreshti, from the sacred fire of which a celestial being arises with porridge in a golden cup, which he

hands over to Das'aratha. The porridge is taken by the three queens, who dream that they are being guarded by angels, are being carried in the sky by Garuda and are being worshipped by the seven sages of Paradise. First Rāma is born to Kaus'alyā, then Bharata to Kaikeyi and then the twins Lakshmana and Satrughna to Sumitrā— the four being incarnations of Vishnu. Their birth becomes the occasion of great rejoicing both in Heaven and on Earth. Lakshmana becomes attached to Râma, and Satrughna to Bharata. Their education proceeds on proper lines—

स्वाभाविकं विनीतत्वं तेषां विनयकर्म्मणा ।
मुमूर्छ सहजं तेजो हविषेव हविर्भुजाम् ॥ R. V.—X—79.

(স্বতঃই বিনয়-গুণে ভূষিত কুমার,
বিনয় শিক্ষার যোগে বাড়িল অপার—
স্বভাবতঃ নিজ তেজে উজ্জ্বল অনল,
ঘৃতের আহুতি-যোগে অধিক উজ্জ্বল ।)—N.D.,

(Self - restraint,
Inborn, by modest actions still increased,
As fed with fragrant unguents, fire's bright flame
More brilliant shows). —P.D.L.J..

The eleventh canto commences with the account of the sage Visvāmitra's request to Das'aratha to permit his sons Râma and Lakshmana to accompany him to his hermitage [1], which the king readily complies with. They kill the demoness Tâdakā and later on her son and Subāhu, who oppress the hermits and prevent them from performing sacrifices.

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1. In the Shahabad District (A.G.I.).

Then the sage takes them to Janaka, the king of Mithilā,[1] whose daughter Sitâ will become the wife of him, who is able to break the formidable bow of S'iva, which is in the palace. Rāma, though a mere boy, easily bends and breaks the divine bow. Janaka then sends the glad tidings by a messenger to Das'aratha, who comes with a large retinue. The marriage of Rāma with Sitā is followed by that of Lakshmana with her younger sister and those of Bharata and S'atrughna with the two daughters of Janaka's younger brother. When the king with his sons and daughters-in-law is returning home, Paras'u-rāma the formidable enemy of the Kshatriyas, intercepts their progress, and asks Rāma, his name-sake, who by breaking the bow at Janaka's palace has bereft him of his glory, either to bend his bow and discharge an arrow or to entreat him for his life. Rāma takes Paras'urâma's bow with a smile, and places an arrow on it, and asks him whether he will close with this arrow his free movement or his way to heaven. Paras'urāma is now humiliated, and begs Rāma to do the latter, as he does not want the delights of Paradise.

The victorious Râma then bows to his humbled rival for—

> राघवोऽपि चरणौ तपोनिधेः क्षम्यतामिति वदन् समस्पृशत् ।
> निर्जितेषु तरसा तरस्विनां शत्रुषु प्रणतिरेव कीर्त्तये ॥

R.V.—XI-89.

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1. The capital was Janakapura, a small town within the Nepal border (A.G.I.).

(Then Rāma clasped his feet, and pardon craved :
To bear him humbly toward a conquered foe
Fits well a Hero !).— P,D.L.J.

("ক্ষম, দ্বিজ" বলি রাম বিনম্র-বচনে
নমিলা সে মহাতপা মুনির চরণে—
পরাজিত রিপু প্রতি নম্র আচরণ
বিজয়ী বীরের পক্ষে যশের কারণ।)—N. D. .

In the twelfth canto we are told that Das'aratha has become old and therefore wants to instal Rāma as king. His envious step-mother Kaikeyi wants the king to grant the two boons, which he promised before. Her husband is staggered by her two prayers, one of which is the banishment of Rāma for fourteen years and the other is the installation of her son, Bharata, as king. But Rāma, a dutiful son as he is, is not in the least affected—

पित्रा दत्तां रुदन् रामः प्राङ्महीं प्रत्यपद्यत ।
पश्चाद्वनाय गच्छेति तदाज्ञां मुदितोऽग्रहीत् ॥

R. V.—XII—7.

(...........With tears.
At bidding of his father, Râma took
The world-wide realm, but with all cheerfulness
Received the doom of exile.)—P. D. L. J. .

(জনকের রাজ্যত্যাগে বিষাদিত মন,
সম্মত ছিলেন রাম নিতে রাজ্যভার ;
দীর্ঘ বনবাস-ক্লেশ হরষে এখন
গ্রহিলেন পালিবারে আদেশ পিতার)—N. D.

Then Rāma to enable his father to redeem his promises proceeds to the Dandaka forest with Sitā and Lākshmana. This great disappointment and painful bereavement aggravated by the remembrance of the hermits' curse hasten the death of Daśaratha.

When Bharata learns on his return home what has happened, he becomes annoyed with his mother, and declines to accept kingship, and proceeds to the Chitrakuta[1] forest to acquaint Rāma with his father's death and to request him to become king, to which Rāma does not agree, as he is unable to transgress the commands of his deceased father. Bharata now takes from Râma his shoes, with which he comes to Nandigrâma and not to Ayodhyā, to administer the kingdom on behalf of his elder brother.

Then Râma fights with many Râkshasas and kills them and meets in the Panchavati[2] forest on the Godâvari, Surpanakhî who proposes marriage with him and later on with Lakshmana. When her proposal is rejected, she becomes furious, and Lakshmana instead of killing her, cuts off her nose and ears. Rāvana, her brother, being incensed by this insult to his sister, kidnaps Sitâ during the absence of Rāma and Lâkshmana, who have gone to kill a deer, whose form Rāvana's attendant has assumed.

Then Râma, who learns from the bird Jatâyu that Rāvana is the culprit, allies himself with the monkey-

1. Twelve miles from Markunda Station in Hamirpur, west of Banda. On the top of the hill are the stone-figures of Râma, Lakshmana and Sitâ.

2. Near modern Nâsik (from nâsikâ—nose).

king Sugriva after killing his brother Vāli. Sugriva sends Hanumān to bring the news of Sitā. He crosses the sea, proceeds to Lankā, and sees Sitā, to whom he presents Rāma's ring, and after killing a Râkshasa of the name of Aksha and burning Lankâ, comes back to Rama with Sita's gem as a memento.

Rāma then encamps with his army on the shore before crossing the sea, where Rāvana's pious brother, Bibhishana, joins him. A bridge is constructed. The sea is crossed. The two armies meet. Victory wavers between the two sides.

Râvana wants to convince Sitâ of the death of her husband by showing her a false decapitated head. When she revives from her faint on being informed by Trijatâ that it is an illusion, her mind is filled with great shame—

कामं जीवति मे नाथ इति सा विजहौ शुचं ।
प्राङ्मत्वा सत्यमस्यान्तं जीवितास्मीति लज्जिता ॥

(R. V.—XII—75).

(At this healing word,
Her sorrow turned to joy ; yet loving shame
Still ruled her as she thought—"I yet could live,
While thinking He was dead !")—P. D. L. J. .

(জানকী ত্যজিলা শোক, জানিলা যখন
কুশলে শিবিরে প্রভু আছেন জীবিত ;
কিন্তু পূর্ব্বে মৃত্যু-বার্ত্তা করিয়া শ্রবণ,
রয়েছিল নিজপ্রাণ ভাবিয়া লজ্জিত।)—N. D. .

Rāma on the chariot sent by Indra now meets his formidable enemy, the ten-headed demon Rāvana,

whom he slays after a protracted fight.

After purifying his chaste wife, Sitâ, with fire, and installing his friend Bibhishana, as the king of Lankā, Rāma begins his homeward journey with his wife, Lakshmana, Bibhishana and the monkey-host in an aerial chariot.

The thirteenth canto begins with Râma's graphic description to his dear consort of the sea, which has been beautifully divided by his bridge, as the moon-lit autumnal sky is cut into two parts by the bright stars of the Milky Way. Rain-bearing clouds are formed by the rays of the sun, which draw water from the sea, the birth-place of pearls. Many hills being pursued by Indra have taken refuge in the sea. The sea is a devoted husband—

> मुखार्पणेषु प्रकृतिप्रगल्भाः स्वयं तरङ्गाधरदानदक्षः ।
> अनन्यसामान्यकलत्रवृत्तिः पिबत्यसौ पाययते च सिन्धुः ॥
>
> R. V.—XIII—9.

(All his wives,
Impartial in his love, he greets alike,
With wavy lips receiving kisses sweet
From eager river-mouths.—P. D. L. J. .

(অপূর্ব্ব প্রেমের খেলা খেলেন সাগর—
শতমুখে নদীকুল চুম্বিছে তাঁহারে ;
প্রদানি তাদের মুখে তরঙ্গ-অধর,
চতুর সরিত-পতি তোষেন সবারে ।)—N. D. .

In the sea are to be found whales emitting water through their heads, alligators big as elephants, foam-

ornamented sea-elephants, and bright sea-serpents. Now the car approaches the shore—

दूरादयश्चक्रनिभस्य तन्वी तमालतालीवनराजिनीला ।
आभाति वेला लवणाम्बुराशेर्धारानिबद्धेव कलङ्करेखा ॥

R. V.—XIII—15.

(Along the salt deep's shore,
That stretches slender like a copper rim,
Wave dark Tamālas mixed with forest-palms,
Like streak of rust on polished metal's gleam)—

—P. D. L. J. .

(শোভিছে লবণসিন্ধু শ্যামকলেবর
লৌহচক্র প্রায়, দেখ, ব্যাপি দিগন্তর ;
সুদূর গগনপ্রান্তে সূক্ষ্ম নীলিমায়
শোভে তীর-বনরাজি পরিধির প্রায়।)—N. D. .

Bhāsa's description of the Ocean (see p. 202) is grand in its simplicity ; Kālidāsa's is picturesque and sometimes sublime, in its variety. Both evince a close and accurate observation of the things around them. Bhāsa is like a child who for the first time approaches this awful watery expanse ; but Kâlidâsa like a trained artist wants to make the most of this wonderful creation of Nature. He lays under contribution the Rāmāyana and other Purânas, Politics, Physics and above all his own prolific imagination.

The effectiveness of the verse quoted above is apparent only to those who have actually seen the sea. Râma is of course represented as progressing in his ærial chariot over the sea towards the shore. A similar impression results from watching the sea from the beach towards the

horizon which looks like the dark-blue rim of a gigantic wheel. But the waters next to it appear to be blue and motionless (cf. निष्कम्पसलिलः of Bhāsa). Then we find a large area of bluish ruffled water like a solution of sulphate of copper. But as the waves rush towards the shore in quick succession (cf. बीचीमालः of Bhāsa), they become as Bhāsa says फेनोद्गारी or foam-emitting, and break themselves into a seething silvery mass and later on become gray, when they dash themselves on and become mixed with the coast-sand. This is the aspect of the ocean when the sky is a little clouded, but when it is overcast, the whole surface from the dark horizontal rim to the shore appears to be a homogeneous expanse of blue water. As Kâlidâsa says, its aspects are as manifold as those of Vishnu, the Highest God.

The aerial chariot now reaches the sea-coast which is strewn with pearls and is full of nut trees, which bend with their fruit.

Tho chariot sometimes ascends and sometimes descends in the regions of the air—

क्वचित् पथा सञ्चरते सुराणां क्वचिद्घनानां पततां क्वचिच्च ।
यथाविधो मे मनसोऽभिलाषः प्रवर्त्तते पश्य तथा विमानम् ॥
(R.V.—XIII-19).

(Obedient to my will this car divine
Cleaves now the sphere of gods, anon of clouds,
Now skims the path of birds)— P.D.L.J.

" চলিছে পুষ্পক মম মনোরথ প্রায় ;
কভু বা ত্রিদিব-পথে করিছে গমন,
কভু বিজলীর বেগে মেঘ-মাঝে ধায়
খগ-পথে কভু রথ করে বিচরণ ।)—N. D.

Then Rāma points out to his wife the objects associated with her during his painful bereavement—the place where her anklet was found, the creepers which showed with their pliant branches the way which her captor took, the deer which also sympathised with Rāma in his affliction, and indicated the direction in which Sitā had been conveyed—

मृग्यश्च दर्भाङ्कुरनिर्व्यपेक्षास्तवागतिज्ञं समबोधयन्माम् ।
व्यापारयन्त्यो दिशि दक्षिणस्यामुत्पक्षराजीनि विलोचनानि ॥

(R. V.—XIII-25).

(The deer were kind ; for while the juicy grasses
Fell quite unheeded from each careless mouth,
They turned wide eyes, that said, "Tis there she passes
The hours as weary captive," toward the south)

—T. K. R.

(না জানিনু কোথা তুমি করিলে গমন,
কুশাঙ্কুর ত্যজি তাই মৃগবধূগণে
দাঁড়ায়ে করিল দৃষ্টি দক্ষিণে ক্ষেপণ,
উর্দ্ধ-রেখ-পক্ষ্ম-রাজি-শোভিত নয়নে ॥)—N. D.

Rāma then shows Sitā the Pampā lake,[1] the fruit-laden As'oka tree on the bank of which in his love-lorn mood he wanted to embrace (like Pururavā in the Vikramorvas'i), the Panchavati on the Godāvari, where Sitā tended mango-saplings with potfuls of water, the musical five-nymph-pleasure-tank of S'ātakarni, whom Indra tempted with five beautiful nymphs

1. The Pampâ river falls into the Tungâbhadrâ before Anagandi—W.

of Paradise, the pilgrim-refreshing hermitage of the sage S'arabhanga, who satisfied the hungry god of fire with his own body, the hill Chitrakuta with the Mandākini[1] flowing at its foot, and the hermitage of Atri, where sages are now sitting in the Virâsana attitude. At last the chariot comes to Prayāga, its evergreen Fig Tree[2], and the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā, the different colours of which must have produced a deep impression on the mind of the Poet, as he describes them most effectively by means of seven beautiful images—

क्वचित् प्रभालेपिभिरिन्द्रनीलैर्मुक्तामयी यष्टिरिवानुविद्धा ।
अन्यत्र माला सितपङ्कजानामिन्दीवरैरुत्खचितान्तरेव ॥
क्वचित्खगानां प्रियमानसानां कादम्बसंसर्गवतीव पङ्क्तिः ।
अन्यत्र कालागुरुदत्तपत्रा भक्तिर्भुवश्चन्दनकल्पितेव ॥
क्वचित् प्रभा चान्द्रमसी तमोभिश्छायाविलीनैः शबलीकृतेव ।
अन्यत्र शुभ्रा शरदभ्रलेखा रन्ध्रेष्विवालक्ष्यनभःप्रदेशा ॥
क्वचिच्च कृष्णोरगभूषणेव भस्माङ्गरागा तनुरीश्वरस्य ।
पश्यानवद्याङ्गि ! विभाति गङ्गा भिन्नप्रवाहा यमुनातरङ्गैः ॥

(R. V.—XIII—54 to 57).

(সুনীল যমুনাজলে মিলি কুতূহলে,
বহিছেন ঐ শ্বেত সুর-তরঙ্গিণী
মুক্তাহারে গাঁথা যেন ইন্দ্রনীলমণি ;
শ্বেত-পদ্মমালা কিবা নীল উৎপলে ;

1. A streamlet which issues from Chitrakuta (see above) in Hamirpur, on which the hermitage of Atri slood.—N.D.

2, Called Akshaya Vata.

মানসের হংসরাজি ধবলবরণা
নীল হংসদলে যেন হয়েছে মিলিত ;
ভূতলে চিত্রিত শ্বেত চন্দনরচনা
শোভে যেন কৃষ্ণপত্রে অগুরু-অঙ্কিত ;
কোথাও জোছনাজাল যেন রে চিত্রিত
স্থানে স্থানে ছায়া-লীন তিমির-পটলে ;
কোথাও বা শরদের শুভ্র অভ্রদলে
ভেদি যেন নীলাকাশ হতেছে লক্ষিত ?
ধবল ভবেশ-অঙ্গ বিভূতি-ভূষিত
রহিয়াছে যেন কৃষ্ণ-ভুজঙ্গে বেষ্টিত ;
এরূপে কতই রূপ হের, বরাননে,
ধরেণ জাহ্নবী মিলি যমুনার সনে ॥)—N. D. .

(Look Lady, perfect-limbed, how that spot shines
Where Gangā *fair* with *dark* Yamunā joins ;
Bright *emeralds* here in a string of *pearls* ;
Blue lotuses there set at intervals
In a wreath beautiful of *white* ones strung ;
Blue geese here flying in the sky among
White swans Mānasa-fond in lines arrayed ;
In a *white* sandal ground adroitly made,
Aguru figures *black* with art well laid ;
There *moonlight* bright diversified with *shade* ;
The Autumn cloud streak *white* through openings made
In which, here *blue* sky-patches are well read ;
There S'iva's body *white* with ashes smeared
And decked with vipers *black* with hoods upreared).

The graphic description of the various places

which Rāma and Sitâ visit on their way home, resembles that of the localities in the suggested journey of the Cloud-messenger in the Meghaduta.

After crossing the Ganges, the aerial car takes the party to the mother-like Sarayu river of the Ikshvāku dynasty of which Râma is a scion. He then points out to Sitā the dust raised at a distance, by the retinue of Bharata, who hearing from Hanumān Râma's advent, has been coming to welcome him home.

The chariot now descends, Râma bows to Vasishtha and is greeted by Bharata, whom and S'atrughna he embraces. Then he exchanges greetings with the old ministers, and introduces Bibhishana and Sugriva as his trusted allies and friends. Bharata then welcomes Sitā by prostrating himself at her feet.

The fourteenth canto opens with Rāma's and Lakshmana's bowing to their mothers Kaus'alyā and and Sumitrā, whom Sitâ also greets by saying—

क्लेशावहा भर्त्तुरलक्षणाहं सीतेति नाम स्वमुदीरयन्ती ।
स्वर्गप्रतिष्ठस्य गुरोर्महिष्यावभक्तिभेदेन वधूर्ववन्दे ॥
उत्तिष्ठ वत्से ! ननु सानुजोऽसौ वृत्तेन भर्त्ता शुचिना तवैव ।
कृच्छ्रं महत्तीर्ण इति प्रियार्हां तामूचतुस्ते प्रियमप्यमिथ्या ॥

R.V.—XIV—5 and 6.

("পতির দুঃখের হেতু আমি অলক্ষণা"
এ বলিয়া নিজ নাম প্রকাশি বিষাদে,
সমভক্তিভাবে সীতা করিলা বন্দনা
পতি-বিরহিতা উভ শাশুড়ীর পদে।

"উঠ, বৎসে, পতি তব দেবরের সনে
তরিল তোমারি গুণে বিপদ-মাঝারে",
সম্ভাষিয়া হেন সত্য মধুর বচনে
কৌশল্যা সুমিত্রা রাণী তোষিলা সীতারে।)—N. D. .

("Lo, here is Sitā, fatal to her Lord,
Not worthy your regard !". "Dear Daughter, rise !"
(So said they), "Twas thy spotless life alone
That brought thy Lord and Lakshman through
their toils
Triumphant." Thus with loving words and true
They praised her, worthy wife of worthy Lord.)
—P. D. L. J. .

Then Râma is crowned king with proper ceremony, after which he enters mournfully the room formerly occupied by his lamented father and containing his portrait. Here he extricates his step-mother Kaikeyi from a delicate situation by telling her that his father has been enabled by her piety to keep his word and not to deviate from truth and thereby to attain heaven. Then Rāma takes up the reins of government with his mind solely directed to the well-being of his subjects. Ayodhyā becomes very happy and prosperous. Now a wicked rumour reaches him that he has done amiss by accepting as his wife one who abode long in the house of the Rākshasa. Rāma decides upon banishing his devoted and chaste wife, though very unwillingly and sorrowfully, and asks Lakshana to take Sitā, in accordance with her previous request, to a peaceful hermitage on the Ganges. Lakshmana, whose obedience to his brother is proverbial, takes

Sitā in a chariot with great reluctance to the place between the Ganges and Tamasā, and communicates to her his brother's wish. Sitā is stunned by the message—

ततोऽभिषङ्गानिलविप्रविद्धा प्रभ्रश्यमानाभरणप्रसूना ।
स्वमूर्त्तिलाभप्रकृतिं धरित्रीं लतेव सीता सहसा जगाम ॥

R. V.—XIV—54.

(With sudden terror smitten, Sitā fell
To earth, her own dear Mother ; fell, as falls
A creeper torn by rushing blast of wind
From its supporting trunk ; and shed her gauds
Like withered blossoms.) —P. D. L. J.

(বাতাহতা লতাপ্রায় হায়রে অমনি
শোকের আবেগে সীতা হইলা মূর্চ্ছিত,
মাতৃরূপী ভূমিতলে পড়িলা তখনি,
পুষ্পরূপে আভরণ হল বিগলিত।)—N. D.

On her regaining consciousness Lakshmana asks her to excuse his cruel treatment. Sitâ blesses him, and says that he is not to blame in the least for what has happened. She then requests Lakshmana to tender her respects to her mothers-in-law, who should bless the child in her womb and to tell her husband—

वाच्यस्त्वया मद्वचनात् स राजा, वह्नौ विशुद्धामपि यत् समक्षम् ।
मां लोकवादश्रवणादहासीः श्रुतस्य किं तत् सदृशं कुलस्य ॥

R. V.—XIV—61.

(Thyself hast seen me purified by fire;
Yet now forsakest, fearing scandal's breath—
Mere words : does this beseem thy noble race ?)

—P. D. L. J. .

(কহিও রাজারে তিনি অগ্নিপরীক্ষায়
স্বচক্ষে দেখিলা মম বিশুদ্ধ চরিত ;
লোক-নিন্দা-ভয়ে তবু ত্যজিলা আমায়
বিখ্যাত ইক্ষ্বাকু-কুলে এই কি উচিত ?)—N. D. .

Her temporary irritation passes away, and she adds that she will practise austerities for this boon—

साहं तपः सूर्यनिविष्टदृष्टिरूर्द्ध्वं प्रसूतेश्चरितुं यतिष्ये ।
भूयो यथा मे जननान्तरेऽपि त्वमेव भर्त्ता न च विप्रयोगः ॥

—R. V.—XIV—66. .

But, once thy son is born,
Un-swerving I shall fix my weary eyes
On yon bright Sun, and by severest modes
Of penance strive that in some future life
Thou only be my Lord, my Lord for aye !)—

—P. D. L. J. .

(তপস্যা করিব আমি প্রসবের পরে
সূর্য্যপানে স্থাপি দৃষ্টি, করিছি নিশ্চয়,
পাই যেন এই পতি জন্মজন্মান্তরে,
কিন্তু যেন এ বিরহ ভুগিতে না হয়।)—N. D. .

Lakshmana now leaves for Ayodhyâ. Even Nature sympathises with Sitā in her great sorrow—

नृत्यं मयूराः कुसुमानि वृक्षा दर्भानुपात्तान् विजहुर्हरिण्यः ।
तस्याः प्रपन्ने समदुःखभावमत्यन्तमासीद्रुदितं वनेऽपि ॥

R. V.—XIV.—69.

(In sympathy gay peacocks ceased their dance,
Trees shed their blossoms, deer the fragrant grass
They scarce had cropped : through all the forest passed
A moan unending)—P. D. L. J. .

(ময়ূর ত্যজিল নৃত্য ; শাখী ত্যজে ফুল ;
হরিণী কুশের গ্রাস ফেলে শোকাকুল ;
জানকীর দুঃখে দুঃখী নিখিল কানন,
উঠিল সে বনভূমে তুমুল রোদন।)—N. D. .

This sympathy of Nature with man is also feelingly described by the Poet in Abhijnāna-S'ākuntalam, when Sākuntalā leaves her father's hermitage for her husband's capital. This is also found in the Poet's description of trees shedding tear-like honey or gum (मकरन्द) in sympathy with Aja who grieves bitterly for the untimely death of his beloved wife. (R. V.—VIII—70).

Sitā's lamentation attracts the attention of the poet-sage Vālmiki, who blames Rāma and takes her to his peaceful hermitage,[1] where she is taken care of by its female inmates.

After Lakshmana's return to the capital and telling his brother that his orders have been carried out, Rāma sheds tears, and consoles himself with Sitā's golden image as best as he can.

At the commencement of the fifteenth canto several hermits are described as approaching Rāma with the request that he should kill Lavana a formidable Rākshasa, who has been interfering with their

1. Bithur, 14 miles from Cawnpur.

sacrifices. Rāma sends his brother, S'atrughna, with an army for the purpose. On his way to Lavana's city, he passes through Vâlmiki's hermitage, where two sons Lava and Kus'a are given birth to by his eldest brother's wife. The man-eating demon is slain by S'atrughna after an arduous fight. Then he founds a prosperous city, Mathurā, on the Yamunā. On his return to Ayodhyâ, the victor is heartily greeted by the populace. He does not tell Rāma anything about the birth of his sons, as Vālmiki has promised to do it himself.

Then a Brāhman comes to the court of Rāma with a dead child in his arms and accuses him of misrule, by which the premature death of his child, he alleges, has been caused. Rāma now finds out after a long search that this calamity has been due to the unauthorised religious austerities of a S'udra, named S'ambuka. Râma, the champion of Brâhmanism, beheads him—an act which obtains, it appears, the Poet's approval.

Then arrangements are made for an As'vamedha sacrifice on a grand scale. All the sages are invited to witness the ceremony. Bibhishana and Sugriva come with costly presents. Rāma celebrates the sacrifice with the golden image of Sitā before him.

Meanwhile Lava and Kus'a, the sons of Rāma, who at the request of Vâlmiki have been visiting various places and singing his epic dealing with the incidents of Râma's life, come to the court of their father, and being asked, sing the Râmâyana in a melodious voice, which captivates the audience—

वृत्तं रामस्य वाल्मीकेः कृतिस्तौ किन्नरस्वनौ ।
किं तद्येन मनोहर्तुमलं स्यातां न शृण्वताम् ॥

R. V.—XV-64.

(একে ত রামের চরিত ললিত,
তাহে বাল্মীকির অপূর্ব্ব সঙ্গীত ;
কিন্নর-স্বরে কুশ লব গায়
কে আছে ধরায় মুগ্ধ নহে তায় ?)—N. D.

(To their depths
They stirred the souls of men with Rāma's deeds,
Vālmiki's matchless strains, their own sweet tones
Like Heaven's minstrelsy.) —P. D. L. J.

They decline to receive the rewards proffered by Rāma. On being asked about the author of the song, they mention the name of Vālmiki, whom Rāma approaches, and who tells him that they are his sons, and asks him to take back Sitā, to which Rāma agrees on condition that she should remove doubts regarding her purity from the minds of his subjects. Vālmiki then brings Sitā from his hermitage, and asks her to remove all suspicion regarding her character. After washing her hands with sacred water, she addresses her mother Earth thus—

वाङ्मनःकर्म्मभिः पत्यौ व्यभिचारो यथा न मे ।
तथा विश्वम्भरे देवि मामन्तर्धातुमर्हसि ॥

R. V.—XV-81.

("All-fostering Goddess Earth,
If I in word, in thought, in deed have still
Held to my lord, nor strayed from duty's path
One hair's-breath,—hide me in thy loving arms".)
—P. D. L. J.

(পতি হ'তে আমি বাক্য-কায়-মনে
না হইয়া থাকি যদি বিচলিত,
তবেঁ বসুন্ধরে ! তব ও চরণে
দিয়া স্থান মোরে কর অন্তর্হিত ।)—N. D. .

As soon as she utters these words, a goddess sitting on a throne placed on the hood of a serpent and surrounded by a circle of bright light, makes her appearance through an opening of the earth, and inspite of Rāma's protests places Sitā on her lap and disappears. Thus the chastity of Sitâ becomes triumphant, and Rāma's love for his subjects is consummated by the highest of sacrifices.

Then the four brothers, parts of the God Vishnu, entrusting the administration of their kingdom to their several sons, go back to heaven after drowning themselves in the Sarayu.

The sixteenth canto introduces to us Kus'a who being eldest succeeds to most of the possessions of Rāmachandra and makes Kus'āvati[1] his capital. After sometime when he is sleeping at night in a room, the doors of which are barred, there appears to him a beautiful woman, the goddess of Ayodhyâ, who describes graphically to him the lost splendour and desolation of the once magnificent city—

सोपानमार्गेषु च येषु रामा निक्षिप्तवत्यश्चरणान् सरागान्।।
सद्यो हतन्यङ्कुभिरस्त्रदिग्धं व्याघ्रैः पदं तेषु निधीयतेऽद्य ।।

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1. See also Râmâyana, Uttarakânda (Asiatic Society of Bengal Ed.) Chap. 107, verses 7th and 17th; and Chapter 108—4th verse, where Kus'âvati is mentioned as situated near the Vindhya hills.

*   *   *   *   *

कालान्तरश्यामसुधेषु नक्तमितस्ततो रूढतृणाङ्कुरेषु ।
त एव मुक्तागुणशुद्धयोऽपि हर्म्येषु मूर्च्छन्ति न चन्द्रपादाः ॥

—R. V.—XVI—15, 18.

(On stairways where (fair ladies) once were glad
To leave their pink and graceful foot-prints, now
Unwelcome bloodstained paws of tigers pad,
Fresh-smeared from the slaughter of the forest deer.)

— T. K. R.

*   *   *   *   *

(The fair Moon's beams
Though pure as virgin pearl, get back no ray
From tiles time-blackened of the palace-roof
Now flecked with grass-tufts)—P.D.L.J.

অলক্ত-রঞ্জিত চরণে যেথায়
চলিত প্রমদা সোপান-নিকরে
সদ্য মৃগরক্তে আর্দ্রপদে হায়
সে পথে এখন শার্দ্দূল বিচরে ।
...   .
জোছনার রাশি মুকুতা-উজল
প্রাসাদ-উপরে নাহি ঝলে আর ;
জন্মিয়াছে তাহে তৃণাঙ্কুরদল
চূণের প্রলেপ হয়েছে অঙ্গার ॥) N. D.

Pleasure-gardens, where girls gently bent the twigs and plucked their flowers, are being desecrated by monkeys. The windows of houses not being lit by lamps at night nor by fair faces in the day, and being bereft of the smoke of incense, have been covered with

cobwebs. Sacrifices are no longer offered on the banks of the Sarayu, and its water no longer exhales the perfumes of gay bathers.

The goddess therefore requests Kus'a to transfer his capital from Kus'āvati to Ayodhyā, and to make the latter as glorious as it was in the days of Rāmachandra. Kus'a accepts this advice, and on the day following, entrusting the administration of Kus'āvati to his Brâhman ministers, leaves with his family and army for the city of his forefathers. He crosses the Narmadâ and the Vindhyas, and then the Ganges and the Sarayu, and reaches Ayodhyā, which after sometime becomes as prosperous as it was in the days of its glory.

One day while the king is bathing with his queens in the Sarayu, his bracelet suddenly disappears, which, he concludes, has been stolen by Kumuda Nāga. Kus'a is on the point of punishing him for his insolence, when he appears with his beautiful sister Kumudvati, and offers her to him for marriage.

The seventeenth canto introduces to us Atithi, the offspring of Kus'a's union with Kumudvati. After his education is completed, the king gives him in marriage to suitable princesses.

In the war with a demon waged by the king at the request of Indra, both the king and his enemy are slain. His wife Kumudvati burns herself on her husband's funeral pyre, and both of them are taken to heaven and have Indra and S'achi as their friends respectively.

The ministers of Kus'a in accordance with his last

wish crown Atithi as king. He is installed with due pomp and ceremony. Prisoners are released, and capital sentences are remitted on this auspicious occasion. Even lower animals are not neglected: beasts of burden and parrots are freed, and the milking of cows is prohibited at least for the time being. Atithi's own prowess and his preceptor Vasishtha's spiritual power combine to make him very powerful. He giving up idleness decides civil cases in consultation with virtuous ministers. The population of his kingdom begins to increase by leaps and bounds. In attending to the improvement of his kingdom he does not neglect his own culture—

> अनित्याः शत्रवो बाह्या विप्रकृष्टाश्च ते यतः ।
> अतः सोऽभ्यन्तरान्नित्यान् षट्पूर्व्वमजयद्रिपून् ॥

R. V.-XVII—45.

> (But foreign foes are distant, nor will give
> Perpetual trouble; with uuwearied care
> 'Gainst banded foes within, the passions six,
> He waged unceasing war)—P. D. L. J. .

> (অনিত্য অরাতি বাহ্য মনে গণে ভূপ,
> দূরে অবস্থানহেতু তুচ্ছ ভাবে নৃপ।
> কিন্তু নিত্য হয় আভ্যন্তর রিপু ছয়,
> করেন অতিথি অগ্রে তাহা পরাজয় ॥)

He never initiates any important measures without consulting his ministers. He employs a large number of spies to watch the movements of both his friends and foes. He goes to war only with those

whom he can overcome. He prefers alliance with the princes of the middle class—

हीनान्यनुपकर्तॄणि प्रवृद्धानि विकुर्व्वते ।
तेन मध्यमशक्तीनि मित्राणि स्थापितान्यतः ॥

R. V,—XVII—58.

(Alliances with weak kings are ineffectual, and those with very powerful monarchs lead to mischief. Hence Atithi allies himself only with Middle Powers.)

(হীনাবস্থ নৃপ সহ সৌহৃদে কি ফল ?
প্রবৃদ্ধ রাজার মৈত্রী নাহি দেয় বল ।
মধ্যম শকতি সহ সন্ধির স্থাপনে,
কার্য্যকরী হবে কালে নৃপ মনে গণে ॥

He is aware that prosperous financial condition contributes considerably to the strength of a state ; and his economy keeps its coffers always full. He pays due attention to his army, as he does to his own body, and thus he makes both strong and powerful. Internal and external peace ensures the due performance of religious rites and makes trade, commerce and agriculture flourish, and leads to the increase of revenue. Mines are exploited for minerals and forests for elephants. The needy, who approach him, become always the objects of his charity. Though he does not like his own praise, yet the fame of his prowess and virtues is proclaimed throughout his kingdom.

The eighteenth canto describes the birth of Nishadha, Atithi's son by the daughter of Arthapati (king of Nishadha) who suceeds Atithi on his death.

He is succeeded by his son Nala, who is followed by his son Nâbha. Pundarika, his son, succeeds him and retires from the world after resigning his kingdom to his son, Kshemadhanvā. He is succeeded by Devânika, whose son Ahinagu ascends the throne on his father's death. His son Pāriyātra follows him. He is succeeded by his son S'ilâ. S'ilâ is succeeded by Unnābha, Unnābha by Vajranābha, he by S'ankhana, he by Vyushitâs'va, he by Vis'vasaha, he by Hiranyanābha, he by Kaus'alya, he by Brahmanishtha, he by Puttra, he by Pushya, he by Dhruvasandhi and he by Sudars'ana. Sudars'ana ascends the throne, when he is a mere child, as his father is killed by a lion during a hunt. His ministers marry him to a beautiful princess, when he reaches marriageable age.

The nineteenth canto introduces us to Agnivarna, the son of Sudars'ana, after whose installation Sudars'ana retires for religious contemplation to the Naimisha[1] forest. Though Agnivarna succeeds to the peaceful and prosperous kingdom left by his father, he entrusts its administration to his ministers and becomes addicted to wine and the company of women, which bring on consumption and premature death. The consequence of too much relish for worldly things, विषयासक्ति, referred to by S'āradvata (A. S.—V—38)—an important characteristic of Gupta rule is foreseen by the Poet, who gives in Agnivarna's death a warning to his contemporaries and specially to the members of his patron's family.

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1. Twenty miles south of Sitâpur on the Gomati (A. G. I.).

The names of many of the kings after Atithi suggest to the Poet the histories of their reigns. The epic ends abruptly with Agnivarna, most probably because its completion is prevented by the Poet's fatal illness. The Vishnupurâna mentions eight kings after Agnivarna, the last of whom Brihadvala is killed by Abhimanyu in the great Kuru-Pāndava War[1].

The Kâvya style reaches its acme in the Raghuvams'am, after which it begins to decline. Kalidāsa always observes a due proportion between sentiment and thought on the one hand and rhetorical and prosodial embellishments on the other, and is aware that the former are more important than the latter. But his successors ignore this valuable precept, and allow ornaments to suffocate thought and sentiment. In this connexion Mr. Ryder says; "He (Kālidāsa) was completely master of his learning. In an age and a country which reprobated carelessness, but were tolerant of pedantry, he held the scales with a wonderfully even hand, never heedless and never indulging in the elaborate trifling with Sanskrit diction which repels the reader from much of Indian literature."[2]

Though Râmāyana, Mahâbhârata, Raghuvams'a and Kumārasambhava are called by Hindu Rhetoricians Mahâkāvyas, Western Scholars prefer to designate the first two as epics composed in the Epic Age and the

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1. Vishnupurâna—Book IV—Ch. IV.
2. T. K. R.—p. XX.

last two as Kāvyas written in the Classical Age. "The Kāvya" according to them "is a narrative poem written in a sophisticated age by a learned Poet who possesses all the resources of an elaborate rhetoric and metric. The poem is divided into cantos, which are subdivided into stanzas. Several stanza-forms are commonly employed in the same poem, though not in the same canto, except that the concluding verses of a canto are not infrequently written in a metre of more compass than the remainder".[1]

Mr. Ryder has referred to the lack of unity in the plot of Raghuvams´am. "There are in truth six (seven ?) heroes, each of whom has to die to make room for his successor". This criticism is just ; but we should remember that the object of the Poet is to exalt his patrons Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I, and Skandagupta under the semblance of an epic dealing with Rāma, his predecessors and his successors. That is the reason why he calls it Raghuvams´am and not Rāma-charitam, though as many as six cantos (X to XV) are devoted to Rāma, and only two cantos and a half (III, IV and the first thirtyfive verses of V) describe Raghu and his achievements. Nor does he designate it even as Dilipa-vams´am, though Dilipa is the first famous king of this dynasty and is renowned for his good rule, valour, self-sacrifice and righteousness, and though more than two cantos deal with him and though the king is none but Samudragupta the Great, the father of Chandragupta II, the Poet's patron

1. Ibid—p. XV.

Mr. Ryder also says "It (Raghuvams'am) was, without serious question, one of his earlier works............The Poet presents himself as an aspirant for literary fame. No writer of established reputation would be likely to say :—

"The fool who seeks a poet's fame,
Must look for ridicule and blame,
Like tiptoe dwarf who fain would try
"To pluck the fruit for giants high."

He evidently refers to the verse मन्दः........... वामनः (R. V.—I—3 see p. 252) . It appears that the critic has misunderstood the tenour of the introductory verses (R. V.—I—2 to 9). Kālidāsa simply pleads his inability to do justice to the achievements of his great Patron's line—this being another device of the Poet to belaud his first patron's family—(cf. क्व सूर्यप्रभवो वंशः क्व चाल्पविषया मतिः ; again रघूणामन्वयं वक्ष्ये तनुवाग्विभवोऽपि सन् I—2 & 9.) . Further the Poet's confidence in himself is evident from his statement—तं सन्तः श्रोतुमर्हन्ति सदसद्व्यक्तिहेतवः (10—only those wise men who can distinguish between right and wrong are fit to study my work.)

The Raghuvams'am was begun in the reign of Kumāragupta I, after at least the first eight cantos of Kumārasambhavam had been finished ; but it was like Kumārasambhavam left incomplete and resumed in the reign of Skandagupta.

There is considerable similarity between some passages of Raghuvams'am and some of Kumārasambham. The ladies of Himagiri appear to be as curious

as those of Vidarbha to see the bridegroom's procession and so leave their toilet incomplete (K. S.—VII—56 to 64 and R. V.—VII—5 to 12). Compare also काननमेव सर्वं चित्रार्पितारम्भ इवावतस्थे (K.S.—III—42) and सक्ताङ्गुलिः सायकपुङ्ख एव चित्रार्पितारम्भ इवावतस्थे (R. V.—II—31)—in one case the whole forest and in the other the right hand remained motionless as in a picture; अपवादैरिवोत्सर्गाः कृतव्यावृत्तयः परैः (K. S.—II—27) and अपवाद इवोत्सर्गं व्यावर्तयितुमीश्वरः (R. V.—XV—7)—in both of which there is a reference to a special grammatical rule suppressing for the time being a general grammatical principle; and चन्द्रोदयारम्भ इवाम्बुराशिः (K. S.—III—67) and निवातस्तिमितां वेलां चन्द्रोदय इवोदधेः (R. V.—XII—36), both of which allude to the swelling of the ocean on the rising of the moon.

Chapter VII.

The Evidence of Na'taka Development.

'The drama which has no religious element as its foundation, is not merely not an important and not a good thing, but the most trivial and despicable of things'.

—Tolstoy.

Though in the Vedas there are dialogues like those between Yama and Yami, between Pururavas and Urvaśi —Pururavas rebukes the Nymph's inconstancy, but cannot prevent her from leaving him, and between Vas'ishtha and his sons, and between Indra and the Maruts, and there are dances of men and women, and secular songs like the battle-hymns of Visvāmitra and Vasishtha, and though as Dr. Keith says the Vedic ritual, included ceremonies in which the performers assumed personalities other than their own, as those of the Soma-seller and Soma-buyer, still there was nothing like drama in the true sense of the term, in which all these coexist, and in which there is a plot deliberately constructed and represented by actors to afford delight to the audience.[1]

In the Nātya S'āstra of Bharata it is mentioned that Drama originated from the imitation by gods before the banner of Indra of their war with and

1. Drs. Macdonell and Keith.

victory over Demons. The gods borrowed in this play the dialogue from the Rigveda, the song from the Sâmaveda, representation from the Yajurveda, and sentiment from the Atharva veda.

The Mahâbhârata and Râmāyana mention natas (nat-the Prākrit form of नृत्—to dance; from which nâtaka is also derived) who were probably dancers and pantomimists and not actors of plays.

Epic recitations of the forbears of the Râmāyana-reciters and Kathakas of the present day, who had intelligence enough to cull from popular Vedic rituals the constituents, which would make their recitations effective, led to the composition and enactment of rudimentary dramas, which were the foundations of the dramas properly so called. Probably the first Râmāyana-reciters were Lava and Kus'a from whom the term Kus'ilava or actor has been derived. These recitations must have been accompanied with music and appropriate gestures and postures as we find even in the present time[1].

A representation of a group of such reciters is found in a bas-relief at Sānchi (150 B. C.). The word *bha·ata*, which is the name of the ancestor of the Puru race, the achievements of which form the subject-matter of the Mahābhārata, indicates the fact that the drama is somehow connected with the recitation of the Mahâbhârata. The word *bhâta* or reciter and herald is derived from '*bharata*'.[1]

Pânini (4th century B. C.) mentions natasutras or rules for natas. Patanjali in his Mahābhāshya refers

1. Drs. Macdonell and Keith.

besides natas or dancers and singers to Granthikas or reciters and S´aubhikas and S´obhanikas, who were pantomimists. The Granthikas divided themselves into two parties, one of which wore a badge of a red colour representing the party of Krishna and the other of a black colour representing that of Kamsa. These distinctive badges were put on for the purpose of enabling the audience to distinguish the parties as soon as they appeared before them. Patanjali's reference to painters, who depicted the killing of Kamsa and the binding of Bali on the canvas, may have led to the painting of the scenes which were going to be represented on the boards of the theatre.[1]

Now it can be easily conceived that Natas, Granthikas S´auvikas and S´obhanikas, and Painters combined their functions and enacted regular plays before the Hindu audience of the the second century B. C. . These dramas like the Mystery Plays of England in pre-Shakesperean times were probably religious.

The Vedic ritual called Mahāvrata, in which there is a scurrilous dispute between a Brāhman and a hetaera, may have given rise to Vidushaka (literally —one given to abuse), the king's companion and jester, who generally fares the worse in his repartee with the queen's female companions. The Vidushaka generally speaks Prākrit, which shows his want of sufficient education. He is always a Brāhman, probably because he is the king's private-secretary and counsellor.

The Rāmalilā celebrations and the yātrās of the

1. Macdonell and Keith,

present day are probably the relics of the crude dramatic representations of ancient times.

The violent and tender dances (tāndava and lāsya) of the followers of S'iva and Pārvati exerted some influence on the dance-constituent of the drama. Kālidāsa says (M.M.—I-28) through Ganadāsa that a dramatic exhibition (including singing and dancing), when it is well represented, pleases gods like a sacrifice, that the violent (ताण्डव) and tender (लास्य) dances are its constituents, that human character and conduct and various sentiments are embodied in it, and that its various species please various kinds of men.

That the Buddhists did not object to dramatic representations, is attested by the dramas of the Buddhist As'vaghosha, the earliest dramatist whose works, though in fragments, are extant. Buddhist legends assert that the knowledge of drama was one of Buddha's accomplishments and that Bimbisāra had a drama performed in honour of a pair of Nāga Kings.[1] The Jainas also adopted drama as a vehicle for the propagation of their religion.

The Harivams'a or the genealogy of the family of Krishna refers to dramatic exhibitions based mainly on Krishna and Rāma legends. But it is difficult to say whether this Purāna is older than As'vaghosha's dramas or not.

Prof. Hillebrandt seems to be right, when he says that puppet-plays (to which the Mahābhārata also refers) are imitations of dramatic exhibitions and presuppose the latter's existence.

1. S. D.—p. 43.

The term Sutradhāra may or may not have been derived from a puppet-play, which depends on the manipulation of these figures by means of sutras or strings. Carpenters in India are called sutradhars or holders of thread, which is used by them for measuring timber; and one of the qualifications of the stage-manager may have been his knowledge of the building of the temporary stage. It appears to have been one of the duties of the architect at sacrificial celebrations to erect a temporary building for accommodating those taking part in the sacrifice and to conduct the various arrangements for their amusements.[1]

The word may have been used also in a metaphorical sense, because the stage-manager gave the sutra or clue to the actual subject of the drama by means of his adroit conversation with his wife, the Nati. It is difficult to conceive how the name Sthāpaka (arranger) of the sutradhāra's or stage-manager's assistant may have been derived solely, as some European scholars assert, from the play of puppets.

Kāvyas (see also pp. 297-98) are shorter epic poems in which the style is regarded as more important than the matter, and in which description preponderates over narration. The predominant sentiments of both the epic and its polished counterpart are heroic and erotic. The theory of Sanskrit Poetics prescribes that cantos should not be less than eight, each of which should end in a different metre. The didactic or aphoristic element is common to both the classes of epics. We find all these elements

1. A. Weber's Indian Literature p. 199.

in Sanskrit dramas. Lyric Poetry, the examples of which have been quoted by Patanjali in his Mahābhāshya, must have contributed the lyric element to the Drama.

From what has been said above, it appears that Sanskrit dramas like those of Greece and England had a religious origin. The same causes, which brought about the secularisation of the tragedies and comedies of Greece and of the Mysteries and Moralities of England, may have led to the non-religious character of later Hindu dramas. But it must be pointed out that most of the works of Indian Dramatists, at least of As´vaghosha, Bhāsa and Kālidâsa, have a religious character, i. e., are derived in the case of As´vaghosha from legends in which Buddha plays a part and in the cases of the latter from the S´āstras.

Western scholars are divided as to the use of Prākrit by certain characters. It cannot be said that even the most rudimentary dramatic exhibitions of the Hindus were confined to the aristocracy. The vehicle of dramatic expression must always have been intelligible to the generality of the people. But the intense religiousness of the Hindus, their almost divine homage to the royalty and their respect for caste-hierarchy would always prevent them from making their gods, kings, Brāhmans and other noble personages speak anything but Sanskrit. It may be said, however, that the Vidushaka, though a Brāhman, speaks Prākrit. But he is most probably an ignorant Brahman of a low class, a Brahmabandhu, playing the part of a court-fool, fond of

sweet-meat and sometimes extricating the king by his common sense from difficult situations and sometimes making them by his foolishness more perplexing. The reason why females use Prākrit, is that even in the present day after the lapse of two thousand years, the percentage of educated women in India is extremely low. Kaus iki, a learned lady, always uses pure Sanskrit.

That some of the dramatic terms like Nata (see p. 302) have been derived from Prākrit, simply proves that popular exhibitions of the Ramalilā type exerted some influence on ancient Sanskrit Dramas. In Sanskrit dramas, the Prākrits which are generally used are S'auraseni in prose, Mahārāshtri in verse and Māgadhi by low characters.

Some European scholars are of opinion that the Indian Drama has been modelled after its Greek prototype, specially the new Attic Comedy which flourished about 340 to 260 B. C.. It is, of course, true that India came into close contact with Greece on account of Alexander's conquest of the Punjab, the occupation of a considerable part of north-western India by his successors, the Greek embassies sent to the courts of Indian princes, and the commercial intercourse of the Greeks with the Indians in the ports of western India, e.g., Barygaza, or Broach. It is also true that there is evidence of some influence exerted by Greek on Indian sculpture, that the best coins of Indian kings show unmistakeable signs of Greek influence, and that some terms like Jâmitra have been derived from Greek Astronomy. Colebrooke says, "The

Hindus hād undoubtedly made some progress at an early period in the Astronomy cultivated by them for the regulation of time. The observations of heavenly bodies were necessary for regulating the days and seasons for the performance of their annual festivities and religious sacrifices. Greece might have infused a new life into Hindu Astronomy."

Mr. W. Brennand after stating that India had its own store of erudition long before its dawn in Greece, remarks that the origin of the Astronomy of the Hindus is to be found in their religious observances and that at least the following are peculiar to the Hindus :—

1. A fixed ecliptic with lunar mansions or asterisms,
2. a different method of calculating longitude,
3. palabha or the equinoctial shadow of the gnomon,
4. the formula called valana,

and 5. the different measure of the Hindu radius.[1]

It must be admitted that the conservatism of the intensely religious Hindus, which led them to regard the Yavanas, Yonas, Ionians or Greeks as impure and other foreigners as mlechchas or untouchables and which led them to ignore completely even the conquests of the greatest Greek General, would naturally prevent them, if it could be helped, from introducing Greek elements into their religious dramas. It has been said that the word Yavanikā or the curtain of the Hindu Theatre is an evidence of the Greek influence

1. Hindu Astronomy—pp. 320 ff..

on Indian Drama; but as Doctors Keith and Levi suggest, the term refers to the material of which the curtain was made and which may have been brought into India in Greek ships or by Greek merchants. Similarly the aromatic yavāni or yamāni यवानी or यमानी and garlic and onion both of which are named यवनेष्ट (a thing liked by the Yavanas) might have been imported into India in Greek vessels. The Greek alphabet was termed Yavanāni यवनानी (see also p. 37). Nor is there any conclusive proof that the Greeks used the curtain in their dramatic exhibitions. Mr. H. Rawlinson says, "The 'Greek curtain' is certainly not borrowed from the Greek stage, for there the curtain was not used."[1] Similarly the introduction of Yavanis or Greek women among the body-guard of a king as, in Bhāsa's and Kālidāsa's dramas (Vikramorvas'i and S'akuntalā) is no conclusive proof of the imitation by the Hindus of Greek dramas, because in this respect the latter do not offer any parallel; and it simply indicates the readiness of Greek traders to sell Greek girls to Indian Kings. In the Periplus of the Erythraean sea or Voyage and Trade in the Indian Ocean written by a merchant (probably an Egyptian Greek) in about 60 A.D., occurs the following :—"Inland from Barygaza (Broach) to the east is a city called Ozene (Ujjayini), formerly a royal capital. There are imported into the market-town wine (Italian preferred), ...copper, tin and lead, coral and topaz, thin clothing............................ And for the king

1. Intercourse between India and the Western World—p. 170.

are brought into these places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weave and the choicest ointments"[1]. Moreover, the most important essentials of the Greek Drama are its unities of time, place and action, and chorus. Like Shakespeare,[2] the Indian dramatist ignores chorus and the unities of time and place : Indian dramas are neither confined to twenty-four hours nor to a single place. It has been stated that the mark of recognition, for example, the ring in S'akuntalâ, the stone of reunion (Sanga-maniya) in the Vikramorvas'i, the ring of the chief queen used by the Vidushaka for the release of Mālavikā in Mālavikāgnimitra, the necklace in the Ratnāvali of Harshavardhana etc., have their counter-parts in Greek dramas. But the use of mementos like the ring is at least as ancient as the Râmāyana, in which Sitā recognises Hanumân, as Rama's messen-ger, by means of his ring. It will be also wrong to assert that the Hindu drama is indebted to the Greek, because in both the love of a person of a high status for a girl is prevented from being consummated for the time being on account of the supposed lower status of the latter; for such themes are common to all the nations of the civilised world or may have been in-herited by both the Greeks and Indians from their common Aryan progenitors.

The theory that the S'aka Satraps like Rudra-

1. Periplus translated by W. Schoff, p. 42.

2. The Chorus in Shakespeare's Henry V is different in impor-tant essentials from that in Greek dramas.

dâmana (c. 128 A.D.) of Ujjayini had something to do with Sanskrit Drama, as he had to do with Classical Sanskrit, an inference drawn from his Girnār inscription, and also from the use of S'auraseni Prākrit in the drama—a dialect spoken in the region round Mathurā, where also there were S'aka Satraps, has been shattered by the discovery of the dramas of As'vaghosha, who is regarded by Tibetan tradition as a contemporary of Kanishka, the beginning of whose rule was marked, according to the Cambridge Historian, with the initiation of the S'aka era, which commenced in 78 A.D.. These dramas show that they had attained a high degree of development, and that therefore the earliest dramas must have been composed at least a century earlier about the middle of the first century B.C.. That Rudradāmana employed Sanskrit in his inscription does not prove that his laudable zeal for the improvement of Sanskrit literature led him to select and refine this vehicle, but it simply establishes the fact that Sanskrit was being cultivated and refined by the Brâhmans and authors of the day and was being patronised by the aristocracy and royalty. The reasons why no earlier inscriptions in Classical Sanskrit are extant are that they may have been destroyed by Mahammadan invaders[1] and also that only well-to-do and influential persons can commemorate their achievements by means of inscriptions on metal or stone.

That S'auraseni Prākrit was used in the drama simply proves that it was the most refined Prākrit of the time, which could be used in plays, the subjects

1. See p. 323, E. H. I..

ot which were mostly religious. Besides S'auraseni As'vaghosha and Bhāsa used two kinds of Mâgadhi, while Kālidāsa selected Mahârāshtri for his verses and Mâgadhi for the speech of his vulgar characters. In later dramas we find only S'auraseni and Mahārāshtri. An examination of the Prākrits of As'vaghosha, Bhâsa and Kālidāsa proves the priority of As'vaghosha to Bhâsa and that of the latter to Kâlidāsa. The Mahârâshtri Prākrit can be placed with reasonable assurance after the Mahārāshtri Lyric, which may have flourished in the third and fourth centuries A.D..[1] This is also the opinion of Dr. L. Sarup who writes[2]—"The Prākrit of these (Bhâsa's Plays) has preserved archaic forms, and from the philological point of view, occupies an intermediate position between the Prākrits of As'vaghosha and Kâlidâsa, being nearer to the former as compared with the latter. It is quite safe to assign these plays to the second century A.D."

In Abhijnāna—S'akuntalam the sutradhāra or manager, suta or charioteer, the king, the sages and hermits, the general, the heralds, the kanchuki, and the priest speak Sanskrit. Others speak S'auraseni, two female attendants Parabhritikā and Madhukarikâ utter two Mahârāshtri s'lokas, and the fisherman and two constables speak Māgadhi.

In Mr. Henrich Luders' Edition of Buddhistic Dramas (1911) are to be found the fragments of dramas, which western scholarship has ascertained as the remains of three Buddhistic plays, one of which has

1. S. D.—p. 146.
2. Hindusthan Review—Jan., 1927.

been proved from the three pages of manuscripts found in Central Asia later, to have been composed by As'vaghosha and named S'āradvatiputra-prakarana. The characters are Buddha, S'āriputra or S'āradvatiputra, his Vidushaka and Maudgalyāyana. S'âriputra, though dissuaded by his Vidushaka from following Buddha, is persuaded by Maudgalyāna to do so. They go to Buddha, who convinces him.

The two other plays, whose remains have been found along with those of Sāradvatiputra-prakarana, are most likely the works of the same author. One appears to be a hetaera-play like Bhāsa's Chârudatta and S'udraka's Mrichchhakatika, which may have been modelled after As'vaghosha's play, which again must have differed from Bhāsa's and S'udraka's works in its pointedly inculcating religious and moral lessons. The name of the Nāyaka or Gallant is probably Somadatta, that of the Hetaera Magadhavati, and that of the Vidushaka, Komudagandha.

The third drama is an allegorical play like the later Prabodhachandrodaya of Krishna-Mis'ra. Here are three characters, Buddhi or Wisdom, Kirti or Fame and Dhriti or Patience—

'यत्र हि बुद्धिरवतिष्ठते तत्र धृतिः स्थानं लभते । यत्र च धृतिराधीयते तत्र बुद्धिस्तिर्य्यते' । Complete sentences can rarely be found in these fragments.

These dramas of As'vaghosa observe the rules of Sanskrit Poetics, treatises on which must have existed even before the publication of Bharata's

1. S. D.—p. 292.

Nātyas ātra, which, it appears from the evidence of Prâkrit, was composed most likely after As'vaghosha. Dr. Keith[1] says that the Prākrits recognised by the Nātyas'âstra are clearly later than those of As'vaghosha and are more akin to those found in Bhâsa, and that the fact of its ignoring the Mahārāshtri of Kālidāsa proves its priority to the latter's works The higher characters in As'vaghosha's dramas speak Sanskrit, in which there are a few Prâkrit words. Besides the epic S'loka metre, of which the proportion may have been considerable, there are at least eleven kinds of verses. The dialogues are generally in prose, and verses are used, as in later dramas in lyric and didactic portions.

We have already stated that the dramas of As'vaghosha observe the rules of Sansrit Poetics. In this connexion we must bear in mind that great dramatists, even if they may have studied dramatic theories, never follow them slavishly. Only a fastidious critic can by means of his inventive imagination illustrate the rules of Sanskrit or English Poetics and Rhetoric in all their details in the plays of Kālidāsa or Shakespeare. We could neither have a Sakuntalā nor a Tempest, if either would be the faithful illustration of dramatic theories. Heine has well said—"Only a narrow shopkeeper mind will attempt to weigh genius in its miserable cheese-scales." Sanskrit dramatic theorists and rhetoricians are subtler in this respect than their western compeers. They divide the whole dramatic action, for example, into five sandhis (critical moments or junctures)—mukha, pratimukha,

garbha, vimarsha, and upasamhriti. Dushmanta's pursuit of the deer would be the mukha-sandhi. The temporary cessation of the chase would be the pratimukha sandhi and so forth. Again authors of Sanskrit Poetics for instance, Sâhityadarpana [1] lay down that every drama has an end to attain. In S'akuntalā the end would be the birth of a worthy son of Dushmanta. There are five causes or means of the accomplishment of the end or principal object अर्थप्रकृतिः or प्रयोजनसिद्धिः, the first of which is the germ or vija, the others being vindu (secondary germ), patākā (a collateral action or an embellishament), prakari (an episode) and kāryya (the deed or object). The vija in S'akuntalā would be—the blessing (viz. that he will have a worthy son) of Dushmanta by Vaikhānasa, when the former in the first Act desists from shooting the deer in compliance with the hermit's request. So the 'germ' here is closely connected with 'mukha-sandhi'. The division by Sanskrit Theorists of dramas into numerous rupakas and uparupakas, of sentiments (रसाः), and of emotions (भावाः) into permanent (स्थायिभावाः) and accessory (व्यभिचारिभावाः), and the classification of their numerous excitants or causes (उद्दीपनभावाः) and ensuants or effects (अनुभावाः) are equally hair-splitting. Bhāvas or emotions in the mind of the author when expressed in compositions become rasas or sentiments which excite similar emotions or bhāvas in the mind of the reader. "Rasas are considered usually as effects, not causes and they

1. Sâhityadarpana Chap, VI, p. 317, translated by Messrs. Ballantyne and Mitra.

are said to come from the Bhāvas, conditions of the mind or body, which are followed" by corresponding impressions on those who feel or behold them[1]. The due appreciation of rasas depends upon the sensitiveness of the critic, but a spectator, who deserves the name, is defined by Bharata to be "one who is happy when the cause of the drama is cheerful, melancholy when it is sorrowful, who rages when it is furious, and trembles when it is fearful"[2].

From the fragments of As´vaghosha's plays it will be evident that by the middle of the first century A.D., Sanskrit Drama had attained a highly developed form similar, though inferior to what we find in Kâlidāsa.

In the Mālavikāgnimitram, Kālidāsa distictly says that Bhāsa is an old dramatist, whose reputation has been established by his works like that of Saumilla and Kaviputra.

Bhāsa's drama, Madhyamavyāyoga, which deals with the demoness Hidimbā's love for Bhima, the younger brother of Yudhisthira, begins in the same way as the Vikramo´rvas´i of Kālidāsa. The Sutradhāra or manager in both pronounces नान्दी or benediction on the audience, and begins to address them, but is suddenly interupted in Bhasa's work by the painful cry of a Brāhman, whose family is being pursued by the demon Ghatotkacha, Bhima's son by Hidimbā, and in Kālidāsa's play by the cry of

1. Wilson's Theatre of the Hindus—Vol. I., p. XLVIII.
2, Ibid p. LVII.

nymphs bewailing the capture of their friend Urvas'i by the demon Kes'i.

The Pancharātra deals with the foray of the Kurus under Duryyodhana on the cows of Virāta, king of Matsya, and the fight between the Kurus and the Pândavas, (who are living in disguise in Virāta's court), and with the marriage of Abhimanyu with Uttarā, the daughter of the Matsya king.

The Dutavākya is concerned with Krishna's request on behalf of Yudhisthira to Duryyodhana for one-half of his kingdom, Duryyodhana's refusal, and his attempt to bind Krishna, and his failure. Duryyodhana's retort to the ambassador, Krishna or Vāsudeva, is worth quoting :—

अवध्यां प्रमदां हत्वा हयं गोवृषमेव च ।
मल्लानपि सुनिर्लज्जो वक्तुमिच्छसि साधुभिः ॥

[Having killed a woman (the demoness Putanā) who should not have been killed, a bull (a demon who assumed this form) and wrestlers (Chânur and Mushtika sent by Kamsa), you, who are shameless, want to speak with honest men like us—this is strange !]

The Dutaghatotkacha deals with the embassy of of Ghatotkacha to Duryyodhana, and the warning of the former to the latter for his unrighteous killing of Abhimanyu, Arjuna's son.

Bhāsa's Karnabhāra deals with Indra's beguiling the haughty but noble Karna, the formidable partisan of Duryyodhana, of his famous armour and of some weapons in the hour of his need, and with his death on the field of battle.

The Urubhanga is a drama describing the club-fight (गदायुद्ध) of Bhima and the heroic Duryyodhana, in which the latter is fatally wounded. We cannot agree with Dr. Keith, when he says that Urubhanga and Karnabhāra are not tragedies inspite of the death under mournful circumstances of their heroes. He says "It is a mere reading of the modern sentiment into ancient literature to treat Duryyodhana in the Urubhanga as the hero of the drama. He justly pays the full penalty for insolence and contempt of Vishnu".[1]

According to the Doctor, it appears, that Bhima should be regarded as the hero and not Duryyodhana. He forgets the well-known maxim of Cowper that authors beget critics and not critics authors. Simply because a Hindu dramatic critic lays down a rule, the Doctor assumes that every Hindu dramatist is bound to observe it. But what has he to say to Karnabhāra? The noble Karna gives up his defensive and offensive weapons to Indra who has disguised himself as a Brāhman, knowing that they will be sorely needed by him in the fight which is imminent. Even S'alya cannot dissuade him. Karna says—

> शिक्षा क्षयं गच्छति कालपर्ययात् ।
> सुबद्धमूला निपतन्ति पादपाः ॥
> जलं जलस्थानगतं च शुष्यति ।
> हुतं च दत्तं च तथैव तिष्ठति ॥[1]

1. S. D.—p. 278.
2. All the extracts are taken from the edition of Mr. Ganapati Sastri,

[With the passage of time things learnt are forgotten deep-rooted trees fall to the ground, and water (either of rain or flood) is absorbed by the earth; but things offered in sacrifice or given in charity last forever].

Karna goes to the battle-field, fights bravely and is slain by Arjuna. Is not this an instance—to quote the Doctor's own words of the good man striving in vain against an inexorable doom'.[1]

The Bâlacharita deals with the incidents of the life of Krishna—his birth, the fruitless efforts of Kamsa to kill him, his youth spent at the house of the milkman Nanda (his adoptive father), his fight with demons and ultimately with the tyrant Kamsa whom he slays, and the restoration to his kingdom in accordance with his father Vāsudeva's request, of Ugrasena, whom his son Kamsa has imprisoned.

Bhāsa's Pratimānātaka describes the death of Das´aratha, Râma's banishment, the capture of Sitā by Rāvana, Râma's alliance with Sugriva; the monkey-king, his killing Ravana with the aid of the monkey-horde of Sugriva and of the army sent by his brother Bharata, and his return home with Sitā, in the Pushpaka air-chariot.

The Abhisheka-nâtaka goes almost over the same story—Rāma's slaying of Vāli (Sugriva's elder brother), Hanumân's communication of Râma's message to Sitā, Sitā's devotion to her husband and rejection of Rāvana's advances, Rāma's slaying of Rāvana and his coronation.

1. S. D.—p. 278.

The Avimāraka, the plot of which is derived from Kathā literature, deals with the love of Kurangi, the daughter of the king Kuntibhoja, for a youth of an apparently lower status, whose divine origin is proved after many obstacles. Kurangi is able to gain finally the youth of her heart.

The Pratijnā-yaugandharāyana and Svapna-Vāsavadattā deal with king Udayana, the legend of whose love for Vāsavadatta was, as Kālidāsa says in his Meghadūta, known far and wide in the kingdom of Ujjayini, and was probably derived from the Brihat-Kathā of Gunādhya (1st or 2nd century A.D.) on which the Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara of Somadeva (1070 A.D.) was based[1]. There is considerable resemblance between the story of Bhāsa and that given in Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara. In the first play the minister Yaugandharāyana enables his master Udayana, king of Vatsa with its capital Kauśāmbi (near Allahabad), to marry Vāsavadattā, the daughter of the king of Ujjayini. In the second drama he artfully contrives with the aid of Vāsavadattā to make Udayana take another wife in the person of Padmāvati, the daughter of the king of Magadha. The name Svapna-Vāsavadattā is derived from the fact that the sleeping Udayana thinks that he saw his queen Vāsavadattā in his sleep. Vāsavadattā really sat beside him while he was sleeping; though it was given out by Yaugandharāyana that she had died in a conflagration, in order to induce Udayana to marry Padmāvati, the daughter of the powerful king of Magadha. When

1. S. L,—p, 376.

the Vidushaka declares that it was a mere dream, Udayana, who is a devoted husband, says to him—

यदि तादवदयं स्वप्नोधनयमप्रतिवोधनम् ।
अथायं विभ्रमो वा सयाद्विभ्रमोहयस्तु मे चिरम् ॥

(If this be a dream, then non-awaking is blessed; if this be a delusion, may I be subject to it for ever !) Udayana was a historical personage and flourished about 527 B. C..

The Chārudatta deals with the love of an accomplished merchant of the name of Chārudatta, whose generosity has been the cause of his ruin, for Vasantasenā, a hetaera, who ransoms his servant and deposits with him her ornaments with a view to his utilising them. But these ornaments are stolen, and the thief is found out, and Vasantasenā regains her property. This play has been found in a fragmentary condition.

From the above it will be evident that the plots of Bhāsa are derived from the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, Kathâ literature, and Krishna and hetaera legends. The Krishna legends are referred to by Patanjali and agree with Harivams'a, Vishnupurāna and S'rimadbhāgavata in being devoid of the erotic element of Krishna's love for Rādhā and other milkmaids, which probably is of a later origin.

The two Udayana dramas of Bhāsa suggested to Emperor Harshavardhana (606—647 A. D.) his more elaborate work Ratnāvali, and Bhāsa's Chārudatta was imitated in Mrichchhakatika by S'udraka, the

first four acts of which are almost a reproduction of the Chārudatta.

Bhâsa's dramas are interspersed with aphorisms of which Kâlidāsa is also fond. In the Avimāraka, the following occurs. It shows that the position of the minister of the king is not enviable—

प्रसिद्धौ कार्याणां प्रवदति जनः पार्थिवबलम् ।
विपत्तौ विस्पष्टं सचिवमतिदोषं जनयति ॥
अमात्या इत्युक्ताः श्रुतिसुखमुदारं नृपतिभिः ।
सुसूक्ष्मं दण्ड्यन्ते मतिबलविदग्धाः कुपुरुषाः ॥

(If the measures of the minister become successful, people ascribe it to the prowess of the king. If they fail, the minister is definitely blamed. Though kings address their ministers by the very sweet-sounding title of Amātyā or counsellors, they punish severely these unfortunate men, who pride themselves on their power of intellect.)

The first Brāhman, engaged in performing the sacrifice of Duryyodhana in the Pancharâtram, says—

शुष्केणैकेन वृक्षेण वनं पुष्पितपादपम् ।
कुलं चारित्रहीनेन पुरुषेणेव दह्यते ॥

(A characterless member destroys a whole family, as one dry tree does a whole forest of flower-bearing trees.)

The following from Pratijnâ-yaugandharāyana expresses the feelings of the mother for her daughter, whom she has to give in marriage. Vâsavadattā's father says to her mother before her marriage—

अदत्तेत्यागता लज्जा दत्तेति व्यथितं मनः ।
धर्म्मस्नेहान्तरे न्यस्ता दुःखिताः खलु मातरः ॥

(If a daughter is not given in marriage, disgrace befalls a mother; if given, she suffers the pain of separation. So there is nothing but sorrow for a mother, as she is placed between duty and affection.)

The superiority of Bhāsa's dramas to As´vaghosha's fragments in the construction of the plot, in characterisation, in diction, and in the handling of the metre is manifest to every reader, and establishes the fact of Bhāsa's flourishing much later than As´vaghosha. In Bhāsa's dramas the characters are differentiated with great skill. In the variety and melody of his versification he almost approximates Kālidāsa, as will appear from the following passage of his Abhisheka-nātaka, where Lakshmana describes Varuna, the God of the Ocean—

सजलजलधरेन्द्रनीलनीरो
विलुलितफेनतरङ्गचारुहारः ।
समधिगतनदीसहस्रबाहु-
र्हरिरिव भाति सरित्पतिः शयानः ॥

Bhāsa and Kālidāsa may be regarded as the exponents of the Vaidarbhi or Southern style. In As´vaghosha the epic style is predominant. In Kālidāsa the the Vaidarbhi style attains its highest perfection. It is distinguished from the Gaudi or Western style thus in the Sāhitya-darpana—

माधुर्यव्यञ्जकैर्वर्णैः रचना ललितात्मिका ।
अवृत्तिरल्पवृत्तिर्वा वैदर्भीरीतिरिष्यते ॥

ओजःप्रकाशकैर्वर्णैर्बन्धः आडम्बरः पुनः ।
समासबहुला गौडी ॥

(An elegant composition, with letters having sweet sounds and being devoid of compounds (samāsas) or having a few compounds, is called the Vaidarbhi style. On the other hand a composition with force-expressing sounds and full of bombast and compounds is named Gaudi).

Kâlidâsa is simple, as is Bhāsa; but the former has an elegance and refinement which is not found in the latter. See how Bhāsa in his Abhisheka-nâtaka prevents Târā in a clumsy manner from lamenting the treacherous murder of her husband by Rāma, and contrast it with Rati's lamentation for her lord in Kumārasambhava. Both As'vaghosha and Bhāsa must have influenced Kâlidāsa's style; but as Dr. Keith says, "The chief cause of its perfection must have been natural taste and constant reworking of what he had written, a fact which may easily explain the discrepancies between the recensions of his work".[1]

1. S. D.—p. 161.

Kālidāsa's Dramas.

The dramas of Kālidâsa may have been composed in the following order—Mālavikāgnimitram, Vikramorvasi and Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam.

When the stage-manager proposes to enact Mālavikāgnimitram on the occasion of the spring-festival, his assistant (पारिपार्श्विकः) says—

मा तावत्। प्रथितयशसां भाससौमिल्लकविपुत्रादीनां प्रबन्धान् अतिक्रम्य वर्त्तमानकवेः कालिदासस्य क्रियायां कथं परिषदो बहुमानः।

सूत्रधारः। अयि विवेकशून्यमभिहितम्। पश्य—

पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्व्वं, न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम्।
सन्तः परीक्ष्यान्यतरद्भजन्ते, मूढः परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः॥

(That cannot be done. Why should the work of Kālidâsa, who is a new dramatist, be preferred to the works of Bhâsa, Saumilla and Kaviputra of established reputation?

Sutradhāra or Stage-manager—your words are devoid of wisdom, for—

A work is not necessarily good, simply because it is old, nor is it bad simply because it is new. Wise men prefer a work after thorough examination. Only fools depend on the opinions of others).

The stage-manager in introducing Vikramorvaśī says to his assistant—

परिषदेषा पूर्वेषां कवीनां दृष्टरसप्रबन्धा, अहमस्यां कालिदासग्रथितवस्तुना नवेन त्रोटकेनोपस्थास्ये, तदुच्यतां पात्रवर्गः स्वेषुस्थानेष्ववहितै भवितव्यं भवद्भिरिति।

नटः—यथाज्ञापयति देवः।

सूत्रधारः— यावदस्यामार्यविदग्धमिश्रान् शिरसा प्रणिपत्य विज्ञापयामि—

प्रणयिषु दाक्षिण्यवशादथवा सद् वस्तुबहुमानात्।

शृणुत जना! अवधानात् क्रियामिमां कालिदासस्य॥

(The stage-manager to his assistant— This assembly has witnessed the plays of former dramatists. I shall now enact the new drama of Kalidasa before it. Ask the actors to be careful in remaining in their proper places.

The assistant—Your command has my attention.

The stage-manager to the audience— I bow down to you, who are versed in various arts. I hope you, being actuated by your love for us or for the excellence of this play, will attentively witness this dramatic representation).

In the Śakuntalā the stage-manager says to the actress—

आर्ये! रसभावविशेषदीक्षागुरोर्विक्रमादित्यस्य नरपतेरभिरूपभूयिष्ठा परिषदियम्। अद्य खलु कालिदासग्रथितवस्तुना अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलनामधेयेन नवेन नाटकेनोपस्थातव्यमस्माभिः। तत् प्रतिपात्रमाधीयतां यत्नः।

(Respected Lady—This is the Learned Assembly of the King Vikramāditya, who is himself well versed in poetic sentiments. Today we are to enact the new

historical drama of Kālidāsa called Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam. Therefore let every actor play his part carefully).

From the above it will be evident that the Mâlavikāgnimitram is introduced with the greatest diffidence, and a proverb has to be quoted in support of the stage-manager's preference for the drama of an unknown author. This want of confidence, though much less, is still apparent in the introduction of the Vikramorvas'i to the audience, who have witnessed the representations of the works of other dramatists (पूर्वेषां कवीनां दृष्टरसप्रबन्धा), because they are asked to witness patiently and attentively its performance either out of their love for the theatrical company or for the excellence of the new drama. But this diffidence disappears completely on the occasion of the representation of Abhijnana-s'akuntalam, for by this time Kālidāsa's reputation as a dramatist has been thoroughly established, and no apology is, therefore, deemed necessary for the enactment of his new play.

It has been stated by some that as in Mālavikagnimitram Kâlidâsa follows the dramatic theory loyally, this must be his late production. But we should remember that only a novice will faithfully and fearfully abide by the cramping rules of dramatic criticism.

Ma´lavika´gnimitram, Vikramorvas'i and Abhijna´na-S'akuntalam.

The plot of Mâlavikāgnimitram has already been given (see p. 30 ff.) in connexion with the repulse of the Greeks under Menander by the forces of Pushyamitra (see p, 33). There is however, a discrepancy between the story as given by contemporary writers and Kālidāsa. The former mention Agnimitra and not his son Vasumitra as the general of the Hindu forces. Mr. H.G. Rawlinson says in this connexion "Menander besieged Mathurā, Madhyamikā near Chitor and Sāketa in Oudh. 'The Yavana was besieging Sâketa ; the Yavana was besieging Madhyamikā' are examples given by the contemporary grammarian Patanjali of the imperfect tense, which indicates an event which has recently taken place, and is still fresh in men's memories. About this time the aged Pushyamitra, who had usurped the throne of the last of the Mauryyas in 184 B.C. , was contemplating offering the ancient Brâhmanical sacrifice of As´vamedha to celebrate his ascendancy over his neighbours". On the banks of the Sindhu river (between Rajputana and Bundelkhand), the Crown-Prince Agnimitra, who was in charge of

the sacrificial horse, was attacked by a party of Yavana horsemen [1] &c.

The plot of Vikramorvas'i— The story of Pururavas and Urvas'i is found in the Vedas, S'atapatha Brâhmana, and Vishnu, Padma and Matsya Purānas; and Kâlidâsa's story resembles that given in the Matsya Purâna most. Pururavas of the Lunar Race is the king of Pratisthana[2] near Prayāga. One day while returning from the worship of the Sun on the Himālayas, he hears the screams of nymphs, Sahajanyā, Rambhâ and Menakâ, from whom Urvas'i and her companion Chitralekhā, on their way home from the court of Kuvera on mount Kailāsa, have been torn away by the demon Kes'i. The King goes to their rescue and brings back Chitralekhâ and the unconscious Urvas'i in his chariot. When the latter is regaining consciousness, the King says to Chitralekhā—

आविर्भूते शशिनि तमसा मुच्यमानेव रात्रि—
र्नैशस्यार्चिर्हुतभुज इव च्छिन्न भूयिष्ठधूमा ।
मोहेनान्तर्वरतनुरियं लक्ष्यते मुक्तकल्पा ।
गङ्गा रोधःपतनकलुषा गच्छतीव प्रसादम् ॥ V.V.—I-33.

(Have Patience ; she recovers, though but faintly ;
So gently steals the moon upon the night
Retiring tardily ; so peeps the flame
Of evening fires through smoky wreaths ; and thus,
The Ganges slowly clears her troubled wave,

1. Intercourse between India and the Western World pp. 80-81.

2. Identified with Jhusi by Hamilton and H. H. Wilson (Theatre of the Hindus, vol. I. p. 207).

Engulfs the ruin that the tumbling bank,
Had hurled across her agitated course,
And flows a clear and stately stream again.)—W.

(বরতনু প্রায় এবে মোহ-মুক্ত হয়ে
তমোমুক্ত রাত্রি যথা শশাঙ্ক-উদয়ে ;
কিম্বা নৈশ অগ্নিশিখা
হয় যথা প্রায় ধূমহীন,
গঙ্গা পুনঃ স্বচ্ছ যথা
তটভঙ্গে হইয়া মলিন ॥)—J. T.

Urvas'i is restored by the King to her companions and then to Chitraratha, the Gandharva King, but not before he and Urvas'i have become hopelessly enamoured of each other. Urvas'i being summoned before the court of Indra, the lovers are obliged to part; but Urvas'i pretends to be stopped by her long pearl-necklace being caught in a shrub and asks Chitralekhā to set her free, and in the meanwhile turns her eyes towards her Beloved. They look at each other eagerly, while their cars fly to their different destinations.

The scene then changes to Pratisthāna, the royal capital. A female servant of the Queen, named Nipunikā, artfully extracts from the court-jester, Mânavaka, the King's secret love for Urvas'i, as a considerable change has been effected in both the King's countenance and behaviour by his fascination, of the cause of which the Queen has so long been unaware. The King now retires with his companion to the beautiful pleasure-garden overlooking the confluence of the

Ganges and Yamunā. But the charms of nature are now unavailing to soothe his love-stricken heart. Urvaśi feels equally with the King the promptings of love and the agony of separation. She comes down from heaven with her confidante Chitralekhā, for a time remains invisible, listens to the King's confessions and drops a love-letter written on a bhurja or birch bark, which the king eagerly seizes and reads and hands over to Mānavaka for safe custody.

When the King expresses his intense longing for the Nymph, and Chitralekhā comes to him, the King says that so long Gangā and Yamunā have been seen charmingly conjoined, but now Chitralekhā alone does not look so beautiful. She replies that first is seen मेघराजि (the cloud-cluster) and then विद्युल्लता (the lightning-flash). Presently Urvaśi becomes visible, and is made by the king to sit beside him. When they are conversing, a messenger comes from the god of heaven to ask Urvaśi to come directly to heaven, for she has to play the part of Lakshmi in Sarasvati's drama Lakshmi-svayamvara, which is to be enacted under the direction of the divine artist Bharata before the assembly of gods. The love-stricken Urvaśi commits a grievous blunder. When asked by Menakā, who is playing the part of Vāruni, as to whom among the assembled gods, Urvaśi, as Lakshmi, is attached, she substitutes Pururavas for Purushottama and is cursed by Bharata ; but Indra, who intervenes for Pururavas' valuable services to him against demons, allows her to dwell with him on earth, till their child be seen by its father.

The King on the departure of Urvas'i becomes disconsolate, and wants back from Mânavaka her letter, which the Vidushaka has unluckily allowed to be carried away by the wind. The King is much distressed at the loss. He says—

भगवन् वसन्त-सखे मलयानिल !
वासार्थं हर सम्भृतं सुरभितं पौष्पं रजो वीरुधां,
किं कार्यं भवतो हृतेन दयितास्नेहस्वहस्तेन मे।
जानात्येव भवान् विनोदनशतैरेवंविधैर्धारितं
कामार्त्तं जनमङ्गसाभिभवितुं नालम्बिताश्वासनम्॥

V.V.—II-153.

Breeze of the south, the friend of Love and Spring,
Though from the flower you steal the fragrant down
To scatter perfume, yet why plunder me
Of those dear characters, her own fair hand,
In proof of her affection, traced? Thou knowest,
The lonely lover, that in absence pines,
Lives on such fond memorials—W.

ভগবন্ বসন্তসখে মলয়ানিল !
সৌগন্ধের তরে তুমি, লতিকার সুরভিত
সঞ্চিত কুসুম-রেণু কর আহরণ।
কি কায হইবে তব, প্রিয়ার স্বহস্তে লেখা,
স্নেহের এ লিপিখানি করিয়া হরণ ?
এইরূপ শত শত, বিনোদন-উপায়ে যে
কামার্ত্ত পুরুষ করে জীবন-ধারণ
পুনর্মিলন-আশে—পারো কি তাহারে তুমি
এরূপ নির্দ্দয়ভাবে করিতে পীড়ন ?)—J. T.

The letter falls into the hands of the Chief Queen Aus'inari, daughter of the king of Kas'i, and her suspicion now becomes a certainty. She comes out of her place of concealment with her attendant, and presents the letter to the perplexed King, and taunts him for his fickleness and leaves him abruptly inspite of his protests and entreaties and Mânavaka's clumsy jests about eat-ables. The King then realises that 'a woman cannct be easily deceived specially in matters of love—

प्रियवचनकृतोऽपि योषितां, दयितजनानुनयो रसादृते ।
प्रविशति हृदयं न तद्विदां मणिरिव कृत्रिमरागयोजितः ॥

—V. V—II—173.

(I might have spared myself the pains;
A woman is clear-sighted, and mere words
Touch not her heart. Passion must give them credit,
The lapidary, master of his craft,
With cold indifference eyes the spurious gem) —W.

(প্রেমরস-শূন্য হয়ে প্রিয় বচনেও যদি
প্রিয়জন অনুনয় করে,
কিছুতেই জেনো সখা, প্রবেশ করেনা তাহা
রমণীর হৃদি-অভ্যন্তরে ;
মণিবেত্তা-কাছে যথা মণির কৃত্রিম রাগ
দেখিবামাত্রই ধরা পড়ে। —J. T.

The Queen, who on second thought wants to be reconciled to the King and resign herself to the will of gods, invites the King on a moon-lit night to the roof of the palace overlooking the beautiful confluence, to help her to celebrate the festival of the Moon's union

with Rohini. The King whose love-infatuation has not blinded his appreciation of the beauty of nature says—

उदयगूढशशाङ्कमरीचिभिस्तमसि दूरमितः प्रतिसारिते ।
अलकसंयमनादिव लोचने हरति मे हरिवाहनदिङ्मुखम् ॥

—V. V.—III—26.

(শশাঙ্ক উদয়াচলে গূঢ় অবস্থিত,
তাহার কিরণজালে তম অপসৃত।
পূর্ব্ব-দিক মুখ হ'তে অলকের গুচ্ছ যেন নিল সরাইয়া ;
আহা কি সুন্দর শোভা ! নয়ন-যুগল মোর লইল হরিয়া ॥)—J.T.

('Tis even so : illumined by the rays
Of his yet unseen orb, the evening glooms
On either hand retire, and in the midst
The horizon glows, like a fair face that smiles
Betwixt the jetty curls on either brow
In clusters pendulous. I could gaze for ever!)—W.

Urvas'i and her companion Chitralekhâ watch the scene from a distance. The majesty of the Queen, her earnest performance of the religious rite, her solemn permission to the King to marry his Beloved, and her dignified departure from the place, though requested by the King to stay on, for the sake of piety and duty, move all, specially Urvas'i and Chitralekhâ. Urvas'i now makes herself visible, becomes united with the King, and persuades him after his entrusting the work of administration to his ministers, to spend the honeymoon with her amidst the beautiful scenery of the Himâlayas.

The lovers wander near Kailâs'a, when Urvas'i in a fit of jealousy for the King's looking intently at a

Vidyādhara girl named Udayavati, enters the sacred arbour of Kumāra, the god of war, and is changed for Bharata's curse into a creeper. The King being distracted with grief on account of his losing his Beloved regards the dark cloud as a demon, who has been kidnapping Urvas'i in the form of lightning. After thinking for a while he says—

नवजलधरः सन्नद्धोऽयं न दृप्तनिशाचरः,
सुरधनुरिदं दूराकृष्टं न नाम शरासनम्।
अयमपि पटुर्धारासारो न बाणपरम्परा,
कनकनिकषस्निग्धा विद्युत् प्रिया न ममोर्वशी॥

V.V.—IV—21.

(নব জলধর এযে—নহে দৃপ্ত বর্ম্মাবৃত
রাক্ষস ভীষণ ;
এ যে দেখি দূরাকৃষ্ট ইন্দ্রধনু—এতো কভু
নহে শরাসন ;
প্রবল এ বৃষ্টিপাত—এতো নহে রাক্ষসের
বাণ-পরম্পরা ;
কনক-নিকষ-স্নিগ্ধ বিদ্যুৎ এ—এতো নহে
প্রেয়সী অপ্সরা॥ — J.T. .)

(It is no demon—but a friendly cloud ;
No hostile quiver—but the bow of Indra ;
The cooling rain-drops fall, not barbed shafts ;
And I mistake the lightning for my Love.)—W. .

He then asks the Peacock about the whereabouts of his Love. It does not reply, but dances with its expanded beautiful tail, Pururavas thinks, in joy, be-

cause Urvas'i's thick hair adorned with flowers, which was its rival, is no more. He then enquires of the sweet-toned Cuckoo, the messenger of Cupid, about Urvas'i. The bird seems to hint that the King must have done something to provoke her, which he denies. When the bird without replying feeds on berries, the King remarks that the saying 'Men are cold towards others' intense grief' is very true—महदपि परदुःखं शीतलं सम्यगाहुः—and adds that even now he is not angry with the bird, as its sweet voice resembles that of his Darling. Then he hears sounds resembling those of Urvas'i's anklets, but later on he realises that they are the cooings of swans looking at the clouded sky and proceeding towards the Mānasa Lake. He tells them that they must have seen his Beloved, from whom they have stolen her languishing gait, and adds that they fly away fearing him to be the punisher of thieves. Then he asks a Chakrabāka sitting with his mate about Urvas'i; but on the bird simply uttering—'अयं कः कः—who is he?', the King says that he is the great Pururavas descended from the Sun and Moon. The bird not replying, the King says that when its Beloved hides itself behind a lotus-leaf, it becomes very anxious and utters a plaintive cry; but unfortunate as he is, it is indifferent to him who is similarly circumstanced. He then addresses the Black-bee and says—

मधुकर ! मदिरेक्षणायाः शंस तस्याः प्रवृत्तिं ।
वरतनुरथवासौ नैव दृष्टा त्वया मे ॥
यदि सुरभिमवापस्यस्तन्मुखोच्छ्वासगन्धं,
तव रतिरभविष्यत् पुण्डरीके किममस्मिन् ॥ —V.V.—IV-61.

(Say, plunderer of the honeyed dew, hast thou
Beheld the nymph whose large and languid eye
Voluptuous rolls, as if it swam with wine ?
And yet, methinks, 'tis idle to inquire :
For had he tasted her delicious breath,
He now would scorn the lotus. I will hence)—W..

(মধুকর ! মদিরাক্ষি প্রিয়া মোর কোথা বল শুনি ;
বরতনু প্রেয়সীরে, কোথাও কি দেখ নাই তুমি ?[1]
সে মুখ-সুরভি-শ্বাস, তুমি যদি করিতে আঘ্রাণ,
তা'হলে কি এই পদ্মে মজিত গো তোমার পরাণ ?)-J.T..

Then he asks an elephant, who is being presented with the twig of a s´allaki tree by his mate, about Urvas´i, and the animal seems to cheer him up with its roar. He now enquires about the Paragon of Beauty, of a hill, the cave of which reverberates his question. Then he comes across a rushing hill-stream with which he identifies his Beloved (see Preface). He now realises that it is a river and not Urvas´i, as otherwise it would not have left him and proceeded to meet another Lover, viz., the Ocean. He now finds a deer with its female whose eyes resemble Urvas´i's, and asks him about his Loved One. On the former proceeding to its mate and not heeding his question, the King says—

सर्व्वथा उपपद्यते परिभवास्पदं विधिविपर्ययः (V.V.—IV—66).

—Disgrace is always the result of misfortune.

Now a stream of ruddy radiance breaks through a cleft rock, which the King finds, emanates from a bright

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1. There should be no mark of interrogation, and 'কোন স্থানে' should be substituted for 'কোথাও কি'.

crimson gem. He takes it up and then wants to fling it away, saying—

मन्दारपुष्पैरधिवासितायां यस्याः शिखायामयमर्पणीयः ।
सैव प्रिया संप्रति दुर्लभा मे किमेनमस्रोपहतं करोमि ॥

—V. V.—IV—78. .

(Why should I take the jewel? She whose brow,
Bound with Mandâra fillet, best had worn
The costly gem, is far– far from me ; why
Should I distain the ruby with my tears ?)—W. .

(অর্পণের যোগ্য এযে প্রিয়ার মাথায়
—মন্দার-কুসুম-বাসে যাহা সুরভিত ;
কিন্তু সেই প্রিয়া মোর এখন কোথায় ?
কেন তবে করি ইহা অশ্রুতে সিক্তি ?)—J. T. .

A heavenly voice warns him to keep this sacred Sangamaniya, the gem of union, which has received its colour from its contact with Gauri's feet. He then sees a creeper to which he becomes instinctively attached—

तन्वी मेघजलार्द्रपल्लवतया धौताधरेवाश्रुभिः,
शून्येवाभरणैः स्वकालविरहाद्विश्रान्तपुष्पोद्गमा ।

—V.V.—IV—79. .

(No blossoms deck its boughs;
Nipped by the falling rains, like briny tears,
That wash the ruddy freshness from the lips,
The buds have perished, and the mournful shrub
All unadorned appears to pine in absence)—W. .

(মেঘ-জলে আর্দ্র দেখি পল্লব লতার—
অশ্রুজলে ধৌত যেন অধর প্রিয়ার ।

লতাটী কুসুমহীন, গেছে কাল পুষ্পফুটিবার—

প্রিয়াও ভূষণ-হীন, না পরেন কোন অলঙ্কার।)—J. T..

With the jewel he clasps the creeper, which in his embrace is transformed into Urvas'i.

The King is now reminded by Urvas'i of his duty as a ruler to promote the well-being of his subjects, who must have become indignant on account of his prolonged absence. They return to the capital in a cloud-chariot contrived by Urvas'i at the King's request and having lightning-flashes for its streamers and rainbows for its pictures —(Compare—सेन्द्रचाप' सचित्राः (M. D.—II—I.).

On the occasion of the celebration of a sacred festival, the vulture, which takes away the magic stone, when the King is about to put it on his head after his bath at the confluence of the Ganges and Yamunâ, falls pierced by the dart of a youth, bearing the inscription—the arrow of A'yus, son of Pururavas and Urvas'i. Urvas'i admits that he is their son. According to the modification of Bharata's curse by Indra, Urvas'i's separation from Pururavas becomes inevitable, because he has seen his son. When this is conveyed to him by the sorrowful Urvas'i, he faints. On regaining consciousness, he says to her—

आश्वासितस्य मम नाम सुतोपलब्ध्या।
सद्यस्त्वया सह कृशोदरि ! विप्रयोगः ॥
व्यावर्तितातपरुजः प्रथमाभ्रवृष्ट्या।
वृक्षस्य वैद्युत इवाग्निरुपस्थितोपयम्॥ —V. V.—V—99.

(Scarce have I known the blessing of a son,
When my fair bride is snatched from my embrace,

The tree that languished in the summer's blaze,
Puts forth reviving, as young rain descends,
Its leafy shoots, when lo ! the lightning bursts
Fierce on its top, and fells it to the ground)—W.

(পুত্রলাভে আশ্বাসিত হইনু যেমনি,
বিচ্ছেদ তোমার সনে ঘটিল অমনি।
তাপক্লিষ্ট তরু যথা প্রথমে শীতল হয়
নব মেঘ-বরিষণে,
কিন্তু গো সহসা যথা পড়ে ঘোর বজ্রানল
তদুপরি পরক্ষণে ॥ —J. T.

Nārada now comes down from Paradise in a halo of light to the court of the King to communicate to him the happy news that as Pururavas will be of great help to Indra in his future war with demons, the great god has allowed Urvas'i to reside with him during his earthly life. In the presence of Nārada and the whole assembly the Kumāra or Prince is installed with the water and other sacred things brought by the nymph Rambhā from heaven. Kālidāsa describes in the guise of the investiture of A'yus the splendid inauguration of Kumāragupta by Chandragupta II. The songs of the two heralds teeming with wishes for the youthful A'yus' welfare are worth perusal—

प्रथमः---विजयतां विजयतां युवराजः ।
अमरमुनिरिवात्रिः स्रष्टुरत्रेरिवेन्दु-
र्बुध इव शिशिरांशोर्बोधनस्येव देवः ।
भव पितुरनुरूपस्त्वं गुणैर्लोककान्तै-
रतिशयिनि समाप्ता वंश एवाशिषस्ते ॥

द्वितीयः—

तव पितरि पुरस्तादुन्नतानां स्थितेऽस्मिन् ।
स्थितिमति च विभक्ता त्वय्यनाकम्पधैर्ये ॥
अधिकतरमिदानीं राजते राजलक्ष्मी-
र्हिमवति जलधौ च व्यस्ततोयेव गङ्गा ॥ —V. V -V - 133 - 4

(First— Glory, all glory, on A'yus attending;
Still in the son may the father we trace;
Justice and valour together extending
The sway of his sceptre and fame of his race.
Son of the monarch the universe filling,
Son of the god of the mist-shedding night,
Son of the sage, whom the great Brahmā willing
Called with creation to life and to light.

Second—Now bright o'er the regions the glories are
gleaming
The sceptre and sway of the father have won;
And brighter than ever the radiance is
streaming,
Enhanced and confirmed by the fame of the son.
So Gangā descends from the peaks of the
mountain,
That shine with the light of unperishing snows,
And mighty, meandering far from their
fountain,
In the breast of the ocean the waters repose.)
—W.

প্রথম ।—দেব-মুনি অত্রি যথা
ব্রহ্মা-সম গুণের নিধান,

অত্রি-সম শশধর,
শশধর বুধের সমান।
বুধের সমান যথা
গুণ ধরে আমাদের ভূপ,
লোক-কান্তগুণে তথা
তুমি হও পিতৃ-অনুরূপ।
কি করিব আশীর্ব্বাদ—
সর্ব্বশ্রেষ্ঠ কুল তব ;
পূর্ব্ব হতে সেই কুলে
আশীষ সমাপ্ত সব॥
দ্বিতীয়।—উচ্চদেরো অগ্রগণ্য,
স্থিতিমান্ যথা হিমাচল,
আছিলা তোমার পিতা ;
লক্ষ্মী তাই তাঁহাতে অচল ;
অসীম তোমারো ধৈর্য্য ;
তাই লক্ষ্মী তোমাদের মাঝে,
বিভক্ত হইয়া যেন
আরও কত শোভায় বিরাজে
—গঙ্গা যথা রত্নাকর আর হিমাচল,
উভয়েরে বিভাগিয়া দেন তাঁর জল।—J. T.

Messrs. Pandit and Arte translate अमर.........कान्तैः thus— "The divine sage Atri was the son of Brahmā ; Indu or the Moon was the son of Atri; Budha was the son of the Moon or Indu, and king Pururavas was the son of Budha. Each resembled his father by his qualities". They render भव.........स्त thus— "Be like

thy father by thy qualities which are dear to people. For in the family the highest of all, all blessings have attained their highest pitch." "The speaker means that the highest blessing he can wish to the young Prince is that he should be like his father, because all the blessings he can think of are already in the family." This is indeed a high and sincere praise. Most likely it is another device of the great Poet to extol his patrons Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. A´tri may be S´rigupta, Chandra—Chandragupta I, Budha-Samudragupta, Pururavas—Chandragupta II, and A´yus—Kumāragupta I. Dilipa who stands for Samudragupta, is also compared to Budha(R.V.—I—47).

The Plot of Abhijna´na-S´akuntalam

(the Drama in which the fortune of the Heroine, S´akuntala´, is determined by means of a remembrancer).

It is beautiful summer time. Dushmanta of the Solar Race, the King of Hastināpura[1], is pursuing a gazelle in the sacred forest adjoining the hermitage of Kanva.

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1. The ancient Delhi situated on the Ganges about 52 miles from modern Delhi which is on the Yamunâ.—M.W.

Now Vaikhānasa, an inmate of Kanva's hermitage, with his two disciples presents himself before the King, and raising his hand asks him not to kill this deer of the hermitage—

न खलु न खलु बाणः सन्निपात्योऽयमस्मिन् ।
मृदुनि मृगशरीरे तूलराशाविवाग्निः ॥
क्व वत हरिणकानां जीवितं चातिलोलं ।
क्व च निशितनिपाता वज्रसाराः शरास्ते ॥
तत् साधुकृतसन्धानं प्रतिसंहर सायकम् :
आर्त्तत्राणाय ते शस्त्रं न प्रहर्त्तुमनागसि (A.S.—I—15). .

(Why should his tender form expire,
As blossoms perish in the fire?
How could that gentle life endure
The deadly arrow, sharp and sure?
Restore your arrow to the quiver.
To you were weapons lent
The broken-hearted to deliver,
Not strike the innocent.)—T. K. R. ,

(শরক্ষেপ-যোগ্য নয় লোল মৃগদেহ ;
কার্পাসরাশিতে অগ্নি নাহি দেয় কেহ ;
কোথা দেখ হরিণের কোমল জীবিত ?
কোথা তব বজ্রসার সায়ক নিশিত ?
নিবেশ তূণীরে বাণ সম্যক-সংহিত ;
আর্ত্ত-পরিত্রাণে শর কর নিয়োযিত ;
নির্দ্দোষী-প্রহারে কভু না হয় উচিত ।)

The King does accordingly. The hermit is pleased and confers on him the blessing that he will be get a son

endowed with all virtues and fit for being an emperor. He then asks the King to accept the hospitality of Kanva's hermitage, now in charge of his daughter S'akuntalā, as he is absent on a pilgrimage to Somatirtha[1] to avert an evil fate that threatens her. Here are to be found Kanva's elderly sister Gautami, S'akuntalā, born of Vis'vāmitrâ and the nymph Menakā, and S'akuntalā's two companions Anasuyâ and Priyamvadā. All the three are of marriageable age and will be given by Kanvā in marriage as soon as worthy bridegrooms are found. S'akuntalā was so called because she was tended by a S'akuni or vulture, when her mother Menakā deserted her near Kanva's hermitage. Then she was adopted by Kanva as his daughter.

When Dushmanta comes near the hermitage he puts on modest garments consistent with its sacredness and makes over his jewels and bow to his charioteer. He then finds that his right hand has been throbbing. Now this is a good omen. Vaikhânasa has pronounced the blessing that the King will in the near future have an accomplished son. He presumes that the throbbing of the right hand just after Vaikhānasa's blessing must imply a new marriage. Therefore he says—

शान्तमिदमाश्रमपदं, स्फुरति च बाहुः, कुतः फलमिहास्य ? (A S-I-37).

(This hermitage is the abode of purity and peace; my right hand throbs; how will the desirable result follow?) This strikes the keynote of the play and prepares the mind of the reader for the love-scene. The King then catches sight of S'akuntalā, who with her companions

1. A place of pilgrimage on the coast of Gujerat near the temple of Somanâtha—M. W.

is engaged in watering her favourite plants, and is struck by her beauty and grace. He says—

सरसिजमनुविद्धं शैवलेनापि रम्यं ,
मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति ।
इयमधिकमनोज्ञा वल्कलेनापि तन्वी ,
किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम् ॥ —A.S.—I-47.

(The meanest vesture glows
On beauty that enchants:
The lotus livelier shows
Amid dull water-plants;
The moon in added splendour
Shines for its spot of dark;
Yet more the maiden slender
Charms in her dress of bark.)—T.K.R.

(সরসিজ শোভে যথা শৈবালের গায়,
কলঙ্কে হিমাংশু-দীপ্তি যথা বৃদ্ধি পায়,
শকুন্তলা শোভে তথা পরিয়া বল্কল,
কি না হয় অলঙ্কার সুন্দরীর বল ।)

When he watches S´akuntalā from a distance, she being pursued by a black-bee, cries to her companions for protection, who in a laughing mood ask her to appeal to the King Dushmanta, because he is their protector. The King seizing this opportunity makes his appearance, and enters into conversation with the three maidens, in course of which Dushmanta and S´akuntalā fall hopelessly in love with each other. The incident of the black-bee is ingeniously contrived. It extricates the King from an awkward situation. Being the symbol

of a fickle lover it may be a foil to Dushmanta who is constant in his love for S'akuntalā. The King gathers from Anasuyā and Priyamvadā the history of Sakuntalā's birth and realises that there is likely to be no impediment to his union with S'akuntalā, as she is the daughter of a Kshatriya. He also learns that Kanva is seeking for her a fit bridegroom. S'akuntalā is overcome with shame on account of the talk of her marriage and wants to leave the place. Anasuyā, however points out to her that in the absence of Kanvā it is her duty to entertain the royal guest. Even this does not deter S'akuntalā from the thought of going, but Priyamvadā tells her that she is indebted to her for two potfuls of water, and that she will not be allowed to leave the place till her debt have been paid. The King takes out his signet-ring and gives it to Priyamvadâ in payment of S'akuntalā's debt. When Priyamvadā and Anasuyā look at each other after reading the name on it, the King pretends that it is a present from the King. Then Priyamvadā asks S'akuntalā to to go, as her debt has been paid by the kind gentleman, rather by the King himself. S'akuntalā being reluctant to leave the King, tells her that she has no authority either to send her away or to keep her back. The King now says to himself, "Does she feel for me as I do for her?". At last his hope becomes free to indulge itself—

वाचं न मिश्रयति यद्यपि मद्वचोभिः,
कर्णं ददात्यवहिता मयि भाषमाणे ।
कामं न तिष्ठति मदाननसंमुखीना,
भूयिष्ठमन्यविषया न तु दृष्टिरस्याः । —A. S.—I—123.

(Although she does not speak to me,
She listens while I speak;
Her eyes turn not to see my face,
But nothing else they seek).— T. K. R. .

(তাঁর বাক্যেরও যদি আমার বচন সহ,
না হয় মিশ্রণ ,
অবহিতচিত্ত হয়ে, সাগ্রহে বচন মোর
করেন শ্রবণ ।
আমার সম্মুখে তাঁর, যদিও অধিকক্ষণ,
নহে অবস্থান ,
তথাপি বিষয়ে 'অন্য, তাঁহার নিবিষ্ট-দৃষ্টি
থাকে অল্প ক্ষণ ॥)

Now a cry is heard that a wild elephant being pursued by the huntsmen of the King, has been destroying the trees of the hermitage. Dushmanta now realises that his followers, who are looking for him, are disturbing the holy retreat, and decides to go back and meet them. S'akuntalā delays her going and stealthily looks at the King on the pretext that her foot has been pricked by a sharp kus'a-blade and her bark-mantle has been caught on a kuruvaka twig. He comes back to his camp and meets his Vidushaka, Mādhavya, who says that he is unable to move on account of the bustle of the hunt and want of food and drink. The Vidushaka becomes glad, when the King orders his general to send back the archers, who have gone ahead, and to forbid the soldiers to disturb the holy place or even to approach it. The King now opens his heart to his companion, and says that

Mādhavya must be very unfortunate, as he has not seen S'akuntalā, the paragon of visible things. The court-jester tries to dissuade the King from entertaining any thought of marrying a girl of the hermitage, but is unsuccessful. Two disciples of Kanva now appear before the King and ask him to stay in the hermitage for sometime to protect it from Rākshasas. The King is delighted at the request, and finding that Mādhavya will be of no use in his wooing of S'akuntalâ, sends him away to the capital, assuring him that that he has been so long joking with him regarding his love for S'akuntalā, and requests him to to help his mother to celebrate her fast, named Pravrittapârana, for which she has sent a special messenger to him.

The King chases the demons from the hermitage, to which he returns. He looks eagerly for his Beloved, as love has engrossed his whole being. He says to the God of Love—

तव कुसुमशरत्वं शीतरश्मित्वमिन्दोर्द्वयमिदमयथार्थं दृश्यते मद्विधेषु ।
विसृजति हिमगर्भैरग्निमिन्दुर्मयूखैस्त्वमपि कुसुमबाणान् वज्रसारीकरोषि ॥

A. S.—III—7.

(Thy shafts are blossoms; coolness streams
From moon-rays: thus the poets sing;
But to the love-lorn, falsehood seems
To lurk in such imagining;
The moon darts fire from frosty beams;
The flowery arrows cut and sting)—T.K.R.

(কন্দর্পের পুষ্পবাণ কমনীয় বলে,
হিমাংশুর হিম অংশু প্রথিত ভূতলে ;

অযথার্থ এই বাক্য মোর মনে হয়,
অন্যরূপ মোর পক্ষে নাহিক সংশয়।
ইন্দুর শীতল রশ্মি দহে অগ্নি-সম,
বজ্রতুল্য পুষ্পশর বিঁধে হৃদি মম ॥)

He adds that if the god would have obsessed the beautiful-eyed S'akuntalâ and then shot his arrows at him, he would not have been sorry in the least.

He then concludes that S'akuntalā, has been spending the hours of midday-heat on the bank of the Mālini and finds her in a cane-bower (वेतसलता मण्डपे-III-14.) lying on a flower-strewn bench of stone with her two friends. The King watches his love-lorn Beloved from a distance. S'akuntalā is persuaded by her companions to write a letter to the King who makes his appearance at the dramatic moment, and the two lovers are left alone. The King persuades S'akuntalā to marry him in the Gāndharva manner, and leaves the place promising to take her to the capital[1] in the course of five days or more accurately as soon as the number of days equi-

1. Hastinâpura being situated on the old bed of the Ganges about twentytwo miles northeast of Mirat, and the hermitage of Kanva being located on the Mâlini near Bijnor, which is about sixty miles northeast of Mirât, there is an intervening distance of about fifty miles, as, M. M. H. P. Sâstri says, between the hermitage and the capital; and if the King takes two days in arriving at his capital and one day in his preparation, then the remaining two days are sufficient for the escort's reaching the hermitage for taking Sakuntalâ to Hastinâpura. Mr. N. L. Dey in the Indian Antiquary (1923) says that the Mâlini falls into the Ghagrâ about fifty miles above Ayodhyâ, that it is the Erineses of Megasthenes and that Lassen says that its present name is Chukâ, the western tributary of the Sarayu.

valent to the number (five) of the letters of his name—द, ष, म, न, त—will be over—एकैकमत...उपैष्यतीति

(A.S.—VI—78). .

While Sakuntalā is brooding over her separation from her Royal Lover, the peevish sage Durvāsā comes to the hermitage, and finding S'akuntalā inattentive, pronounces on her the curse that her dear one will forget her in the same way as she has forgotten the duty of hospitality. Priyamvadā asks Anasuyā to appease this incarnation of anger, who is presuaded after much entreaty to modify his curse to the effect that there will be reunion between the lovers, when a remembrancer is shown. Priyamvadā says that there will be no difficulty, as the signet-ring, which the King has given to S'akuntalā, will serve the purpose of a memento or abhijnāna (from which the Play has derived its name.)

Now Kanva returns from his pilgrimage, becomes acquainted in his sacred meditation with the events that have happened, and decides to send S'akuntalā to her husband in the company of his sister Gautami and his disciples S'ārngarava and S'āradvata. S'akuntala's parting from Kanva, Anasuyā and Priyamvadā, from the plants she watered and and the female deer and the young gazelle she tended, is exceedingly beautiful in its pathos. None feels the separation more keenly than Kanva—

वैक्लब्यं मम तावदीदृशमहो स्नेहादरण्यौकसः ।
पीड्यन्ते गृहिणः कथं नु तनयाविश्लेषदुःखैर्नवैः ॥

A. S.—IV.-80. .

(আমি বনবাসী যদি এতই বিহ্বল,
না জানি সে গৃহীজন কতকষ্ট পায়,
বিদায় দেয় গো যবে আপন কন্যায় !)—J. T. .

(If such the force of grief
In an old hermit parted from his nursling,
What anguish must the stricken parent feel—
Bereft for ever of an only daughter !).— M. W. .

अस्मान् साधु विचिन्त्य संयमधनानुच्चैः कुलं चात्मन-
स्त्वय्यस्याः कथमप्यबान्धवकृतां स्नेहप्रवृत्तिम् च ताम् ।
सामान्यप्रतिपत्तिपूर्ब्बकमियं दारेषु दृश्या त्वया,
भाग्यायत्तमतःपरं न खलु तद्वाच्यं बधूबन्धुभिः ॥-A.S.-IV-122.

He asks his disciples to tell Dushmanta—
Most puissant prince! we here present before thee
One thou art bound to cherish and receive
As thine own wife, yea even to enthrone
As thine own queen—worthy ot equal love,
With thine imperial consorts. So much, Sire,
We claim of thee as justice due to us,
In virtue of our holy character—
In virtue of thine honourable rank—
In virtue of the pure spontaneous love
That secretly grew up 'twixt thee and her,
Without consent or privity of us.
We ask no more—the rest we freely leave
To thy just feeling and to destiny).—M.W. .

(আমরা তাপস ঋষি, উচ্চবংশ তব,
নিজে বরিয়াছে বালা, না জিজ্ঞাসি' আত্মীয় বান্ধব ;

এইসব চিন্তা করি, শোনো গো রাজন,
অন্য পত্নী সম ভাবি,' দিও এরে সম্মান, সম্ভ্রম।
অতঃপর যাহা কিছু, ভাগ্যের সে কথা,
যতই বলিনা কেন, কারও বাক্যে হ'বে না অন্যথা ॥)—

—J. T.

This is a message worthy of the great Sage. His advice to S'akuntalā is equally unexceptionable—

शुश्रूषस्व गुरून् कुरु प्रियसखीवृत्तिं सपत्नीजने,
भर्तुर्विप्रकृतापि रोषणतया मास्म प्रतीपं गमः ॥
भूयिष्ठं भव दक्षिणा परिजने भाग्येष्वनुत्सेकिनी,
यान्त्येवं गृहिणीपदं युवतयो वामाः कुलस्याधयः ॥
(Some read भोगेषु for भाग्येषु) — A.S.—IV-126.

(Honour thy betters; ever be respectful
To those above thee; and should others share
Thy husband's love, ne'er yield thyself a prey
To jealousy; but ever be a friend,
A loving friend, to those who rival thee
In his affection; should thy wedded lord
Treat thee with harshness, thou must never be
Harsh in return, but patient and submissive;
Be to thy menials courteous, and to all
Placed under thee, considerate and kind;
Be never self-indulgent, but avoid
Excess in pleasure; and when fortune smiles,
Be not puffed np. Thus to thy husband's house
Wilt thou a blessing prove, and not a curse.)

—M.W.

(শুশ্রূষা করিবে সদা নিজ গুরুজনে,
সখীসম আচরিবে সপত্নীর সনে।
অপমান অত্যাচার করে যদি পতি,
হবে নাকো প্রতিকূল তবু তাঁর প্রতি।
সদয় হইবে সদা অনুচর-পরে,
উন্মত্তা হবে না কভু ধনমদভরে।
এইরূপ আচরণ করে যে অঙ্গনা,
সেই তো গৃহিণী—অন্যে কুলের যন্ত্রণা।) — J. T..

When Kanva reminds S'akuntalā that the time for his religious duties has arrived, she says that he will not miss her, as he will be engrossed by his holy rites, but that she will feel her separation sorely. Kanva replies that he seems to be almost paralysed and does not know what to say and that his grief will be intensified by the seedlings which will spring from the seed she has been accustomed to offer as a sacrifice at the cottage-door. Then he bids her goodbye. After S'akuntalā has left, he consoles Priyamvadā and Anusuyā, and says that he is himself again after sending S'akuntalā to her husband's house for—

अर्थो हि कन्या परकीय एव, तामद्य संप्रेष्य परिग्रहीतुः।
जातो ममायं विशदः प्रकामं, प्रत्यर्पितन्यास इवान्तरात्मा॥

A.S.—IV-151..

(A girl is held in trust, another's treasure;
To arms of love my child today is given;
And now I feel a calm and sacred pleasure,
I have restored the pledge that came from heaven.)
—T. K. R..

(ভর্ত্তৃগৃহে কন্যাধনে করিলে প্রেরণ—
ন্যাস-প্রত্যর্পণে যথা আনন্দিত মন—
পাঠাইয়া শকুন্তলা স্বামীর আলয়,
নির্ম্মল হইল আজ আমার হৃদয় ॥)

When S´akuntalā and her companions arrive at S´achitirtha after crossing the Mâlini river, on which Kanva's hermitage stands, she unwittingly slips the ring from her finger into the Ganges.

Meanwhile we have a glimpse of the life at the royal court at Hastināpura. The chamberlain complains of his advancing age and increasing bodily and mental weakness. He refers to the laborious days of rulers like Dushmanta, who cannot enjoy a moment's rest. The two heralds also mention the King's devotion to his subjects and his conscientious decision of civil and criminal cases. Just then the Prâkrita song of the second queen Hamsapadikâ is heard—a lyric peerless for its melody and sentiment. We give below its Sanskritised form—

अभिनवमधुलोलुपः त्वं तथा परिचुम्ब्य चूतमञ्जरीम् ।
कमलवसतिमात्रनिर्वृतः मधुकर विस्मृतः असि एनां कथम् ॥

—(A.S.—V—17).

(You who kissed the mango-flower
Honey-loving bee,
Gave her all your passion's power
Ah! so tenderly!
How can you be tempted so
By the lily, pet?

Fresher honey's sweet I know;
But can you forget?—)T.K.R..

(সহকার-মঞ্জরীরে চুম্বন করিয়া
সুখেতে বসেছ এবে কমলে আসিয়া।
নব নব মধুপানে লোভ নিরন্তর,
কি হেতু ভুলিলে তারে ওহে মধুকর?) —S.C.C.

This song reminds the King of his neglected love (Hamsapadikā, neglected for the time being for the sake of Vasumati); but it is applicable to the cases of S'akuntalā and Hamsapadikā, both of whom have been forgotten by him. It fills his mind with an undefined longing for some one, though Durvāsā's curse prevents him from remembering S'akuntalā. The King's appreciation of music and his belief in previous existence are evident from his remark—

रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान्,
पर्य्युत्सुकीभवति यत् सुखितोऽपि जन्तुः ॥
तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्व्वं,
भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि ॥ —A. S.—V-25.

(সুখের মাঝারে যবে বিচলিত মন,
সৌন্দর্য্য-দর্শনে কিম্বা সুস্বর-শ্রবণে,
প্রাক্তন-আসক্তি চিত্ত করয়ে স্মরণ—
যদিও বিস্মৃত এবে—জানে সর্ব্বজনে ॥)

(Not seldom in our happy hours of ease,
When thought is still, the sight of some fair form,
Or mournful fall of music breathing low,
Will stir strange fancies, thrilling all the soul

With a mysterious sadness and a sense
Of vague, yet earnest longing. Can it be
That the dim memory of events long past,
Or friendships formed in other states of being
Flits like a passing shadow o'er the spirit ?)

—T.K.R. .

S'akuntalā and her companions now present themselves before the King, and remind him of his marriage at the hermitage. But he tells them mildly that this is a mere story. He cannot recognise S'akuntalā even when her veil is taken off. S'ārngarava's hard words, though he is dissuaded by S'āradvata, cannot persuade the King to take back S'akuntalā, whom he regards as another's wife. She now tries to prove her marriage with him by the production of the ring, but it cannot be found. The King smiles sarcastically and says women have ready wit. S'akuntalā after saying that fate is too strong for her, mentions an incident, namely, that a fawn, her adopted son, declined to drink water from his hand, but it did from hers. The King replies that worldly-minded men are attracted by such selfish, sweet but false words of women. Gautami retorts that S'akuntalā, who has grown up in the hermitage, is ignorant of such artfulness. The King remarks that even birds like the cuckoo cunningly cause their eggs to be hatched by other birds. Sakuntalā now becomes angry and says that a wretch like him judges all by his own false heart. Her grief now knows no bounds. S'ārngarava remarks—

अतः परीक्ष्य कर्त्तव्यं विशेषात् सङ्गतं रहः।
अज्ञातहृदयेष्वेवं वैरीभवति सौहृदम् ॥ —A.S—V—105.

(Not hastily should marriage be contracted,
And specially in secret. Many a time,
In hearts that know not each other's fancies,
Fond love is changed into most bitter hate).
—M.W. .

(পরীক্ষা করিয়া কার্য্য করাই বিহিত,
বিশেষ গোপনপ্রেমে আরো তা উচিত।
অজানা হৃদয়ে প্রেম করিলে স্থাপিত,
সৌহৃদ্য সে বৈরিতায় হয় পরিণত ॥) —J. T. .

The King asks the hermits why they trust the girl and accuse him of an imaginary crime. S'ārngarava indignantly tells the assembly that they have heard from the King his base reply, viz., that she is to be disbelieved, who has not learnt deceit from her birth, but they are to be trusted, who have made the art of deceiving others their study. He decides to leave S'akuntalā at Hastināpura and to return to the hermitage with his other companions, as they cannot take back a lawfully-married woman from her husband's house. As advised by his priest, the King allows S'akuntalā to remain in the former's house; but she is taken away by her mother through the air to the hermitage of the divine sage Māricha in the Himālayas.

Now the chief of the Police and two constables come with a fisherman in their custody, in whose possession the signet-ring belonging to the King and lost by Sakuntalā, has been found. The fisherman

states that it has been found in the stomach of a fish, which he has caught. When the ring is produced before the King, and the story is related by the police-chief Mitrāvasu, the King's brother-in-law, the former asks the latter to give a suitable reward to the fisherman. But the policemen, who have beaten the fisherman to their heart's content before his guilt has been established, become satisfied only when he has given one-half of his reward to the policemen for their drink.

Mr. Ryder remarks, "The real humorous relief is given by the fisherman in the opening scene of the sixth act. That, it may be remarked, is the only scene of rollicking humour in Kālidāsa's writings."[1] Like the Porter's scene in Macbeth and the Grave-digger's scene in Hamlet, it affords relief to the tension of feeling caused by Dushmanta's repudiation of the innocent S'akuntalā in the preceding act. Besides it gives an account of the loss and recovery of the fatal ring, and thus prepares our minds for what follows.

The nymph Mis'rakes'i (or Sānumati), who is sent by Menakā to ascertain how Dushmanta has been doing after his renunciation of S'akuntalā, finds that the King, being reminded of all the details of his marriage with S'akuntalā by the recovered ring, has been passing sleepless days and nights in great remorse and trying his best to console himself with a life-like portrait of his Beloved, which he himself has painted. He sighs and says—

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1. T.K.R.—p.p. 101-2.

साक्षात् प्रियामुपगतामपहाय पूर्व्वं ।
चित्रार्पितामहमिमां बहु मन्यमानः ॥
स्रोतोवहां पथि निकामजलामतीत्य
जातः सखे प्रणयवान् मृगतृष्णिकायाम् ॥—A.S.—VI—99.

(My Darling came to me and I spurned her;
Now to her pictured charms show great respect:
Vast water scorned, though I a traveller,
The mirage, Friend, to drink, I, fool, expect.)

(সম্মুখে আসিল প্রিয়া, ত্যজিলাম তারে,
চিত্র-স্থিতা প্রিয়তমা সম্ভাষি সাদরে :
নির্ব্বোধ পথিক যেন জলাশয় ত্যজে,
তৃষ্ণায় আকুল প্রাণ মরীচিকা ভজে।)

The King in his excitement identifies the portrait with its living original, and wants to punish a bee which sits on the painted S'akuntalā's spray-like tender lips.

The nymph departs and just at this time Mâdhavya, who has been sent to the garret with the portrait, as the King feared that the chief queen, who was comming, might not like it, utters a loud cry of agony, which the King comes to learn from a messenger sent upstairs, is due to his assault by a demon, who later on turns out to be Indra's charioteer, Mâtali, who has come down from heaven in accordance with his master's orders to remind Dushmanta of his kingly duties, one of which is the repression of demons, the foes of men and gods, for which he has been asked to come up to heaven in Indra's chariot. The King at once complies with his request. The demons are defeated. Mâtali is

now taking the King back to his capital in the celestial car the appearance of the earth from which is thus graphically described by the King—

मातले ! वेगावतरणादाश्चर्यदर्शनः संलक्ष्यते मनुष्यलोकः। तथाहि-

शैलानामवरोहतीव शिखरादुन्मज्जतां मेदिनी,

पर्णंस्वान्तरलीनतां विजहति स्कन्धोदयात् पादपाः।

सन्तानैस्तनुभावनष्टसलिला व्यक्तिं भजन्त्यापगा;

केनाप्युत्क्षिपतेव पश्य भुवनं मत्पार्श्वमानीयते॥

—A. S.—VII—21.

(Mâtali ! how wonderful the appearance of the earth as we rapidly descend !—

Stupendous prospect! yonder lofty hills
Do suddenly uprear their towering heads
Amid the plain, while from beneath their crests,
The ground receding sinks; the trees whose stems
Seemed lately hid within their leafy tresses,
Rise into elevation, and display
Their branching shoulders. Yonder streams whose waters,
Like silver threads, but now were scarcely seen,
Grow into mighty rivers. Lo! the earth
Seems upward hurled by some gigantic power)

—M.W.

(রথের বেগে মনে হ'চ্চে—
সহসা পর্ব্বত যেন উর্দ্ধে ভাসি'উঠে,
শৈল-চূড়া হতে ধরা যেনরে স্খলিত,
পত্রাচ্ছন্ন তরু-দেহে শাখা ওঠে ফুটে,
সূত্রসম নদীগুলি হয়গো বিস্তৃত।

অবশেষে কে মেনরে এই ধরাখানি
উৎক্ষেপি' সবলে মম পাশে দেয় আনি ॥) — J. T.,

Then Mātali takes the King to the hermitage of Māricha, the abode of supreme beauty and peace on the Himalayas, (पूर्व्वापरसमुद्रावगाढ़ हेमकूटो नाम किंपुरुषपर्व्वतः —A.S.—VII—24 ; cf. K.S.—I—1, पूर्व्वा..............वगाहय) where he finds a boy playing with a lion-cub, and compelling it to show its teeth, though two hermitesses are trying hard to prevent him from doing so. The King instinctively feels ardent affection for him, and is requested by the girls to make the child set the lion-cub free. He does so and the hermitesses wonder at the ready compliance of the boy, who on being questioned, tells him that he is the son of Dushmanta. The description of the boyish freaks of Sarvadamana and also of the hermitage is inimitable in its picturesqueness. Sakuntalā now presents herself. Nothing can be more touching than the sight of S'akuntalā in soiled clothes, wearing a single braid of hair and looking pale for her fasting on account of her separation from her husband—

वसने परिधूसरे वसाना नियमक्षाममुखी धृतैकवेणिः ।
अतिनिष्करुणस्य शुद्धशीला मम दीर्घं विरहव्रतं बिभर्ति ॥

A.S.—VII—117.

(Clad in the weeds of widowhood, her face
Emaciate with fasting, her long hair
Twined in a single braid, her whole demeanour
Expressive of her purity of soul ;

With patient constancy she thus prolongs
The vow to which my cruelty condemned her.)

—M. W.

(পরিধান-বসনটি ধূসর মলিন;
উপবাসে শুষ্ক মুখ, একবেণী বাঁধা।
শুদ্ধশীলা যাপি' দীর্ঘ বিরহের দিন,
সুকঠোর ব্রতধর্ম্ম করেন সমাধা ॥) —J. T.

She is recognised by the King, who expresses his repentance of what he has unwittingly done. They then are taken to Mâricha and Aditi, the parents of the gods before whom they prostrate themselves.

The Great Sage promises to communicate their union to Kanva, and tells the King that his son Sarvadamana under the name of Bharata, will become the emperor of Bhâratavarsha.

Before Dushmanta's leaving for his capital with his wife and son, the Sage Mâricha asks him what more he can do for him. The King replies—

प्रवर्त्ततां प्रकृतिहिताय पार्थिवः, सरस्वतीश्रुतमहतां महीयताम् ।
ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः ॥

A. S.—VII—179.

(May Kings reign only for their subjects' weal;
May the divine Sarasvati, the source
Of speech and goddess of dramatic art,
Be ever honoured by the great and wise ;
And may the purple self-existent God,
Whose vital energy pervades all space,
From future transmigrations save my soul.)

—M. W.

(ভূপতি প্রজার হিতে হউন তৎপর,
শাস্ত্রজ্ঞের বাক্য লোকে করুক আদর।
আর সেই সর্ব্বশক্তি শম্ভু ত্রিলোচন,
পুনর্জন্ম-দুঃখ মোর করুন মোচন॥) —J. T.

The union, the seed of which is sown in the sacred and peaceful hermitage of Kanva, is consummated and bears flower and fruit in the purer and calmer hermitage of Māricha.

There are important points of difference between the plot of Abhijnāna-S akuntalam and the story in the A diparva of the Mahābhārata, on which it is based. Dushmanta in the epic sets out for a deer-hunt with a large escort and is followed for some distance by all classes of his subjects. Then he kills a large number of animals with his various weapons. Now he arrives alone at Kanva's peaceful and charming hermitage, where he sees the beautiful S´akuntalā and becomes enamoured of her. Then at his request, S´akuntalā narrates unblushingly the story of the seduction of Visvāmitra by the nymph Menakā and of her being the child of their union. Then the King requests her to marry him, as she is a Kshatriya ; but she asks him to wait for a while till the return of her father Kanva, who has gone to gather fruits. But the King cannot wait, and requests her to marry him forthwith in the Gāndharva manner, to which she consents on his promise that her son will be his heir. The King also promises to send a large armed escort to take her to his capital; but he does not keep his word. Kanva on his return after

a short while gladly assures her that she has not done anything unrighteous by marrying the worthy king, Dushmanta. After Bharata, S'akuntalā's son, has become six years old, Kanva sends them to Hastināpura; but Dushmanta denies his marriage with S'akuntalā. Hard words are exchanged between the two, and in the quarrel Sakuntalā appears to be victorious ; but Dushmanta obstinately declines to recognise her as his wife and Bharata as his son. S'akuntalā and her child are obliged to go away; but a heavenly voice asks the King to recall them, which the King agrees to do. Dushmanta tells those who are present that he knows S'akuntalā and Bharata as his wife and son respectively, and adds that his subjects might have been displeased with him, if he would have treated them as such merely on S'akuntalā's statement.

A comparison of the plot of Kālidāsa with the story of the Mahābhārata establishes the fact that immense improvement has been effected in the story by the Poet. The hunting-scene has been much shortened. S'akuntalā has been provided with companions who narrate to the King the story of her birth and bring about the union of Sakuntalā with her lover. Kanva's absence is not for a short duration, but is likely to be a long one, as he has undertaken a pilgrimage to the remote Somatirtha to avert an evil which may befall his adopted daughter, and so her marriage without Kanva's permission appears to be more becoming. S'akuntalā imposes no condition before her marriage. Her child is born after she has seen and been rejected by her husband. This renders the story more prob-

able than the Mahābhārata version which makes the heroine see her husband when her child has attained his sixth year. Dushmanta's forgetfulness is due to Durvāsā's curse and is not deliberate and ignoble. The exchange of words between him and S'akuntalā is more dignified. Dushmanta feels keenly his cruel treatment of S'akuntalā, and their reunion is effected in an atmosphere of purity, peace and happiness in the hermitage of Māricha in the Himālayas. The second, third, fourth, sixth and a considerable part of the seventh Acts are creations of the Poet. Mr. Ryder says "In the epic there are three characters Dushyanta, S'akuntalā, and Kanva, with the small boy running about in the background. To these Kālid'asa has added from the palace, from the hermitage and from the Elysian region, which is represented with vague precision in the last Act[1]." So we find the originality of the Poet is shown in the handling the plot with masterly skill, in his accurate delineation of characters, and in the appropriateness of imagery and in the exquisite and indescribable beauty of the piece as a whole. The couplet which describes the celestial beauty of Gauri is applicable to his writings and specially to his Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam—

सर्व्वोपमाद्रव्यसमुच्चयेन यथाप्रदेशम् विनिवेशितेन ।
सा निर्म्मिता विश्वसृजा प्रयत्नादेकस्थसौन्दर्य्यदिदृक्षयेव ॥
K. S.—1-49.

(Surely the Maker's care had been to bring
From Nature's store, each sweetest loveliest thing,

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1. T. K. R.—p. 101.

As if the world's Creator would behold
All beauty centred in a single mould—G.)

(একত্র দেখিতে ধাতা উপমা-সমষ্টি,
সৃজিলেন সযতনে গৌরী দেহ-যষ্টি।
যথাস্থানে করিলেন তিনি সন্নিবেশ
মনোহর উমা-দেহে সৌন্দর্য্য অশেষ।)

That the Mālavikāgnimitram, Vikramorvas'i, and S'akuntalā are the works of the same author, is proved by numerous coincidences. The three plays begin with the invocation of S'iva, the God of Kālidâsa. The heroes of the three are three powerful sovereigns of India—Agnimitra, Pururavas and Dushmanta respectively. All the kings are much-married according to the custom of the time. Each of the kings has besides the chief queen Dhārini in Mālavikāgnimitram, Aus'inari in Vikramorvas'i, and Vasumati in Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam, other queens, though the chief queen is addressed as Devi or Goddess and is much respected. The queens become naturally jealous, when their royal lovers transfer their love to new-comers, but Irāvati, the second queen in Mālavikâgnimitram, is unseemly in her jealousy and anger. The heroine, in each case is a newcomer—Mālavikâ, Urvas'i, or S'akuntalá, with whom the king falls hopelessly in love which however is reciprocated. There are three Vidushakas or court-jesters who, though fond of too much sweetmeat, act as confidants of the kings and extricate them from many difficulties. Of them, the most clever is Gautama in Mālavikāgnimitram. The ring or jewel exerts considerable in-

fluence on the progress of the action and determines the fortune of the hero and heroine in each of the plays. In Mālavikāgnimitram, it brings about the release of Mālavikā, for whom the king has been longing, of Urvaśi in Vikramorvaśi who has been changed into a creeper, and recalls to Dushmanta his luckless wife, whom he has on account of Durvāsā's curse unwittingly renounced. Dushmanta overhears the conversation of Sakuntalā and her companions, Agnimitra that of Mālavika and her friends, and Urvaśi that of the king and Vidushaka. The portrait of the heroine is utilised in both Mālavikāgnimitram and Śakuntalā. The picture of Mālavikā makes Agnimitra long for union with her. Dushmanta paints the portrait of Śakuntalā, whom he has unknowingly disowned, for consoling himself, as there is then no likelihood of his being reunited with her. The Vidushaka in Vikramorvaśi asks the King to console himself with a portrait of Urvaśi.

Like Urvaśi Śakuntalā, when she is about to leave the King, pretends that her foot has been pricked by a thorn and her tunic caught by a branch, inorder to delay her going. Urvaśi's son Áyus has a live peacock to play with like Bharata, the child of Śakuntalā, who plays with a lion-cub and then with the clay-figure of a peacock. Agnimitra has also a son Vasumitra who is old enough to conquer by his prowess the formidable Greek King Menander who has captured his grandfather's sacrificial horse and the communication of whose victory to his mother Dhārini gives her great delight and increases her magnanimity.

But there is like Bharata and A'yus, a child (a daughter, named Vasulakshmi, of Dhārini) who communicates to Agnimitra the name of Mālavikā, and whose being attacked by a monkey extricates him later on from a very delicate situation. Both Pururavas and Dushmanta slay the foes of Indra, who in his turn helps them to be united with their beloved ones. S'akuntalā and Urvas'i communicate their love by means of letters, while Mālavikā does so by means of a song.

The three Kings, the heroes of the three plays, are Kālidāsa's ideal sovereigns. We are not to judge them by the standard of modern times. They are, of course, the creations of the different periods of his literary life. The dramatist does not venture to make a religious story the subject-matter of his first work. The reason is obvious. He is not going to write an epic, and he is aware that the greatest liberty is to be taken with the subject-matter to make it the vehicle of a good drama. So he chooses a well-known historical theme, namely the reign and achievements of the greatest of the S'unga monarchs, the staunch adherents of Brāhmanism, to whose efforts its revival after its collapse during the reigns of As'oka and his successors, is due. Pushyamitra, the general (सेनापति—which name he retains even after he has become independent) of Brihadratha, the last Mauryya King, kills his master, and subverts the Mauryya Empire, and becomes the Emperor with his capital at Pātaliputra. His son Agnimitra, the viceroy of his father at Vidisā (Bhilsā), extends the boundaries of his kingdom to Berār by defeating

its King; and he (according to the Poet, his son Vasumitra) inflicts a decisive defeat on the formidable Greek King, Menander, in the north, and thus destroys for good Greek supremacy in the Punjab. Such a powerful Hindu King is likely to be the hero of Kālidāsa.

Agnimitra falls desperately in love with Mālavikā, the Vidarbha Princess, as soon as he sees her portrait. He is glad that it is reciprocated—

अनातुरेणोत्कण्ठितयोः प्रसिध्यता
समागमेनापि रतिर्न मां प्रति ।
परस्परप्राप्तिनिराशयोर्वरं
शरीरनाशोऽपि समानुरागयोः ॥—M.M.—III—124.

(Where ardour and apathy join,
Such union dislikes mind mine ;
Two loving hearts should rather pine
Till death ends ali their hopeless tine.)

(এক পক্ষে থাকে যদি উদাসীন ভাব,
অন্য পক্ষে সোৎকণ্ঠ গাঢ় অনুরাগ,
এ বিরুদ্ধ স্থলে যদি
কোনরূপে ঘটে সম্মিলন,
সে সঙ্গম-সুখে কভু
তৃপ্ত নাহি হয় মোর মন ।
সম-অনুরাগী হয়ে
পরস্পরে যদিও না পায়,
কায়া-নাশ হইলেও
তবু আমি ভালবলি তায় ॥)—J. T.

Though obsessed with love, Agnimitra does not forget his duties as King. He despatches an army under commander-in-chief Virasena, the son of the chief queen Dhârini's father, by a woman of a lower caste, to punish Yajnasena, the recalcitrant king of Berar, who imprisoned Mâdhavsena, his rival, when the latter was coming to Agnimitra with his sister Mâlavikā to ally himself with him by giving her to him in marriage, and thus to obtain his support. Agnimitra gives his consent to and highly appreciates the various devices of his Vidushaka for his union with Mâlavikā. He is always respectful to Dhârini, the chief queen, though she shows her displeasure on the occasion of Mâlavikâ's appearance as a dancer and singer, though she says to him in a tone of bitter satire —"If you had displayed such cleverness in the performance of your duties as King, it would have been more becoming" (M.M.—I-142), and though she imprisons Mālavikā and her attendant Vakulāvalikā in accordance with the request of the second queen, Irāvati. He is never discourteous towards any one, and exercises extraordinary self-control, when the irritable and rude Irâvati in her fit of intoxication and anger after her seeing him and Mâlavikā together, tries to strike him with her girdle and spurns him who has fallen at her feet.

It is pleasing to notice his reverential treatment of the learned and tactful Parivrâjikā or Nun, who with her brother Sumati, the minister of Mādhavasena, wanted to escort Mâlavikā to his court after Madhavasena's imprisonment, but who after her

brother's murder by robbers, became separated from Mālavikā, and who is now living in the palace, as the adviser of Dhārini, without her being recognised even by Mâlavikā.

Agnimitra besides being a great general and administrator is a patron of the singing and dancing masters Ganadâsa and Haradatta and also of the painting master whose portraits fill the picture-hall. The King abides by the advice of his chief minister and does not appear to be an autocrat. He says to his minister Bāhataka "What is your opinion regarding this matter?" and only when he says that he is of the same mind with him, he requests him to ask Virasena to march against the king of Berâr.

We in the present age cannot approve of his being desperately enamoured of the girl Mâlavikā, as he has already two queens, the elder Dhârini being almost the exemplar of her sex and the second Irâvati being noted for her physical charms—specially when he, if he has not already passed middle age, is very close to it, as besides the child Vasulakshmi, he has got by Dhârini a son Vasumitra, who is old enough to be appointed by his aged grandfather, the caretaker of his sacrificial horse, and to defeat the powerful Greek king and his disciplined cavalry on the southern banks of the Sindhu.

Pururavas is third in descent from the god of the moon. Urvas'i is a nymph of the court of the god of heaven. Pururavas is a valiant King. He rescues Urvas'i from the formidable demon Kes'i, the enemy of Indra. Pururavas and Urvas'i, as soon as they meet,

fall in love with each other, which is most ardent and and would have fitted these demi-gods, had they been endowed with a proportionate amount of self-control. The King indulges in a hyperhole when he describes Urvas'i's graces, which reminds one of Cassio's admiration for a far nobler woman—

आभरणस्याभरणं प्रसाधनविधेः प्रसाधनविशेषः ।
उपमानस्यापि सखे प्रत्युपमानं वपुस्तस्याः ॥ VV.—ii-33.

(Ornament's ornament her body fair,
Toilet's toilet and, Friend, beyond compare.)

(এমন সে তনুখানি-অলঙ্কার, তারো যেন হয় অলঙ্কার,
বেশ ভূষা প্রসাধন তারো যেন প্রসাধন বিশেষ প্রকার,
উপমার স্থল যাহা তারো যেন একমাত্র উপমা-আধার ॥)-J.T.

It is not necessary for Pururavas to devise expedients like Agnimitra to attain the object of his desire. It is left to Urvas'i, whose love is equally fiery, to contrive the means of meeting her lover. The King is, however, respectful to Aus'inari, the chief queen, who, though a little jealous at first, makes over her husband to her rival in a spirit of noble resignation. Yet neither does the infatuated King nor the selfish and passionate Urvas'i rise to the height of the occasion aud imitate this high-minded lady. The King, whose judgment and reason have been perverted by his passion for Urvas'i, is easily persuaded by her to leave the administration of his kingdom to his ministers and to enjoy their honeymoon in the Gandhamâdana forest close to the Kailāsa mountain. The fickle King looks at a Vidyâdhara girl in the

Himālayas and offends the frivolous nymph, who in a fit of jealousy leaves her lover and treads on sacred grounds and is turned into a creeper. The King becomes distracted for the loss of his Beloved, roams over the mountain in quest of her and utters very fine lyrics in his frenzy, till the gem, he has found out accidentally, restores Urvas'i to his embrace. He is now persuaded by Urvas'i to return to his capital and to resume his duties as King. Though this amour makes him entirely forgetful of the duties he owes to his subjects, it does not entirely unman him. His aid is still sought against demons by Indra, who allows Urvas'i for that reason to dwell with him during his earthly life. After the restoration of his son and with the advance of age, the sense of duty returns to him, and he entertains the idea of paying respects to his chief queen in the company of his son. It is idle to say that the dramatist chose Pururavas and Urvas'i for his hero and heroine, knowing that they were inferior personages. They were his ideals, when he composed the piece in the full flush of his youth.

Dushmanta, the ruler of Hastināpura, the hero of S'akuntalā, Kālidāsa's masterpiece and last dramatic creation, is the ideal of his maturity and resembles his Dilipa, Raghu, Rāma and Atithi as the exemplar of sovereigns.

The love-episode begins in the same way as in the two other plays. But here the King in pursuit of a deer comes to the hermitage of Kanva, who is absent on a pilgrimage, and sees from a distance the girl

S'akuntalā, the paragon of beauty and innocence, watering her favourite plants and is captivated both by the refinement of her beauty and also by the nobility of her heart. Probably for ascertaining all details regarding the feasibility of his union with S'akuntalâ, he pretends that he is merely an officer of the King. Though love as in the two other cases becomes an absorbing passion, it does not make him, who resembles Agnimitra, but differs from Pururavas in this respect, oblivious of his kingly duties—he orders the captain to see that the peace of the hermitage be not disturbed, he himself chases the Râkshasa foes of the sages away, and sends his court-jester back to the palace as a substitute for him in the religious ceremony of his mother, for which she has sent a special messenger requesting her son's presence. As both Dushmanta and Sakuntalâ fall deeply in love with each other, there appears to be no bar to the celebration of their marriage after a courtship of a short duratlon. He returns to his capital assuring her that she will be taken there in the course of five days; but the curse of the irritable Durvâsâ makes him forget every thing about his new wife. This silence of the King increases S'akuntalâ's anxiety and on the return of Kanva to the hermitage, it is decided that S'akuntalā, who has been feeling keenly her separation from her husband, and is in an interesting condition, should be sent to her husband with the hermit's sister and two disciples. There will be no difficulty in the King's recognition of his newly-married wife inspite of Durvâsā's curse, as a remembrancer—the King's signet-

ring—is on her finger. But unlucky as she is, she lets the memento slip into the Ganges, while she on her way to her husband's capital takes her bath at S´achitirtha, a sacred place of pilgrimage.

While S´akuntalā with her companions is nearing the metropolis, we find the King industrious in promoting the well-being of his subjects, deciding impartially civil and criminal cases, realising from his subjects an equitable, i.e., one-sixth of the produce as revenue, and though immersed in kingly duties not forgetting those he owes to his queens, his servants—who even when they become old, are the objects of his affectionate care—and to the arts (painting, music etc.), of which he is a patron and which he himself cultivates. A significant song sung melodiously by the second queen, Hamsapadikā, touches the inmost chords of his heart, and though in the nature of Hamsapadikā's gentle reprimand, rouses in his mind an intense longing for some loved one, which he attributes to his experiences in some previous birth (see p. 356) .

The King's reverence for Brāhmans, specially hermits, who pay him, as he says, one-sixth of their religious merit as revenue, which is invaluable and eternal (A.S.—II-67), is considerable. He asks the messenger who has brought the news of the coming of the party from the hermitage, to be all attention to them, and to bring them to a place, where he can accord to them a fitting welcome. He receives them very cordially. When asked by Kanva's disciples to accept S´akuntalā as his wife, he gently, though under great provocation

from S´ârngarava, whose fiery temper has not been curbed by asceticism, declines, as he cannot regard another man's wife as his own. This respect for the wives of others is found again when the King in the hermitage of Mâricha feels it delicate to ask the name of Sarvadamana's mother. S´akuntalā, whose heart has been quaking with some indefinite fear of non-recognition by her royal husband, is now almost in a state of collapse. Then she makes a last effort, and wants to convince him of their marriage by means of the ring, which cannot be produced, and by means of past incidents, which the King cannot remember on account of the curse. Though the King uses some hard words to Gautami about the artfulness of women, which we do not expect from him, whom we have so long known as the pink of courtesy and for which he is rightly reprimanded by S´akuntalā, yet on the departure of her companions, he entrusts S´akuntalā to his priest, but her mother Menakā carries her away to Paradise, as this desert-like world is not a fit abode for this drooping flower of the hermitage.

After dismissing S´akuntalā, the King becomes filld with intense remorse ; and an indistinct idea, that Sakuntalā may have been his lawfully-wedded wife, broods over his mind. Now the chief police-officer produces before the King the lost ring, which has been found in the belly of a fish caught by a fisherman. It reminds the King of all the incidents of his wooing and marrying S´akuntalā, and his condition can better be realised than described. But what can he do now ? Reparation is hopeless. His Beloved is beyond recall.

He becomes disconsolate, forbids the celebration of the spring-festival (corresponding to the Dol or Holi festival of modern times) and lives a retired life. He paints a lifelike portrait of his Beloved and of the hermitage where Nature holds her court—its charming river, its beautiful flowers, its gentle fawns, and above all, its presiding deity—his maltreated wife. While the King is poring over the picture he has painted, on which he has poured out the inmost feelings of his heart and is recalling the incidents of his wooing S'akuntalâ with all its details with a mixed feeling of joy and sorrow and sometimes deluding himself with the idea that he is in the company of his Loved One at the hermitage, he is interrupted by the message that Vasumati, the chief queen, is coming. Though S'akuntalâ has been occupying almost the whole of his heart, yet he realises that the chief queen is highly sensitive and that nothing should be done to wound her feelings, and so he asks the Vidushaka to take away the picture, and prepares himself for welcoming her with as much cordiality as possible. The high-minded queen being not desirous of increasing her husband's worry by reminding him of his treachery towards her, does not come to the King's presence but retires after delivering to a messenger the despatch which the minister has sent to his master requesting him to settle as soon as possible the case of succession to the property of Dhanavriddhi or Dhanamitra, a rich merchant, who has died leaving several wives, one of whom is with child. This reminds the King of the fact that he has sent away

S'akuntalâ who is also with child, and adds to the poignancy of his grief. We also see how the dramatist avoids a wrangling scene like that between Agnimitra and Irāvati or between Pururavas and Aus'inari, which would have disturbed the atmosphere of ardent remorse and intense longing for the loved one in the mind of the King, which has been created by the Dramatist's fancy. It is evident that Dushmanta's attachment to S'akuntalā, which had a sensual origin, has been purified and ennobled by suffering. We also find here that though the King has become broken-hearted and been living a retired life, he does not forget his duties as a ruler, to the strenuousness of which the Kanchuki has already borne testimony (Act V—6). Further if he had been greedy, he would have easily found out a pretext for misappropriating the property of the rich merchant who lost his life when his boat sank. Last of all his assurance that even if there were no lawful heir, he would become the friend of the relict, shows his magnanimity.

Indra sends his charioteer Mâtali to bring the King to heaven in his own chariot for helping him in a war with demons and also for effecting his reunion with S'akuntalâ. On his way home after the repression of the demons, Mâtali takes him to the hermitage of Māricha where he meets his son Sarvadamana, who though a mere child with a child's frowardness, is bold and strong enough to play with a lion's cub. There the King also finds to his great joy his long-lost wife. He makes all possible reparations for his past rude treatment, which, as we know, has been due

to Durvāsâ's curse.

In the midst of his delight the King does not forget to pay due obeisance to the sage Mâricha and his wife Aditi, the parents of the gods, whose hermitage in the Himâlayas, the abode of peace and happiness, has so long given shelter to S'akuntalâ and her child, and also to communicate to the sage Kanva the news of their reunion.

The Poet has given several hints regarding Dushmanta's handsome features. The charioteer says at the outset that he is like Pināki or S'iva (Act-I-1). Priyamvadā is struck by his beauty, agreeable conversation and gravity (I-81)). The Vidushaka makes him the paragon of beauty (II-43). Finally the Kanchuki and the nymph Mis'rakesi or Sānumati bear testimony to his agreeable person and the latter adds that S'akuntalā has been suffering misery for a worthy person-(VI-31 to 33). He is the ideal sovereign of Bhāratavarsha in Kâlidāsa's maturity, though judged by the standard of modern times there appear some spots in this otherwise bright luminary. We cannot appreciate his courting of S'akuntalâ, when he has got at least two wives, nor his impatient marriage with her before the arrival of her guardian Kanva, nor his hypocrisy in sending the Vidushaka away and assuring him that he has no eye on the girls of the hermitage—

क्व वयं क्व परोक्षमन्मथो मृगशावैः सह वर्द्धितो जनः ।
परिहासविजल्पितं सखे परमार्थेन न गृह्यतां वचः ॥

—A.S. ii—113.

(There is considerable difference between worldly-minded men as we are and these hermit-girls insensible of love and brought up with young gazelles. Hence what I have told you is a mere joke); nor can we approve of his ~~his~~ remarks on the artfulness of women, addressed to Gautami and S'akuntalâ. Again his evasion of his mother's request cannot but be reprehended. Though we are bound to condemn the King's marrying S'akuntalā during her father's absence, yet we must remember that his passion for S'akuntalâ does not wholly pervert his judgment and reasoning. We see him first concluding that she is Kanva's daughter by a non-Brāhman girl (I-61) and is therefore capable of becoming his wife. Then we find him ascertaining that she is the daughter of Vis'vāmitra, the Kshatriya sage (I-96). Later on we see him learning from Priyamvadâ that S'akuntalā will not live the life of a virgin-hermitess, but will be given away by Kanva in marriage to a worthy bridegroom (I—109). Then the King finds that S'akuntalâ is equally attached to him (III-37). Afterwards he is requested by Priyamvadā to see that S'akuntalā may not die broken-hearted (III-82). S'akuntalā and her companions could not have made such a request, had not Gāndharva marriage (love-wedding) been in vogue at that time. The King bears testimony to this practice when he says (गान्धर्व्वेण.......... अनुमोदिताः. or अभिनन्दिताः, III-119) that the marriages of the daughters of many a royal sage (राजर्षि) have been celebrated according to Gāndharva rites and been acclaimed or at least not objected to by their parents. We have

already referred to his chaste regard for the wives of others (भवतु अनिर्वर्णनीय परकलत्रम्—let her be charming; another man's wife should not be looked at -V-47). These prove conclusively that Dushmanta is not an unprincipled libertine. It may be that the Poet himself does not like such hasty marriages, for he says through Gautami (V-63) that when Dushmanta and S'akuntalâ have married each other secretly without consulting S'akuntalâ's guardians, they themselves are responsible for the consequences, and also through S'ārngarava who says (अतः परीक्ष्य.........सौहृदम् , (see p. 358) that it is desirable that people should be very discreet in making love in solitude and that the ignorance of each other's heart changes love into enmity.

As the case is with Kālidāsa's kings so it is with his queens. The second is better than the first and the third than the second. In the Mālavikāgnimitram, his earliest venture in the province of drama, we become acquainted with two queens, the first Dhārini and the second Irāvati. Though both of them have good grounds for being dissatisfied with the King's treachery, yet the younger and more beautiful Irāvati contrives to spoil the love-meetings of the King and Mâlavikā, and in a fit of jealousy and anger so far forgets her position as to threaten her husband with her girdle and to spurn him from her feet. She causes Mālavikâ to be imprisoned with her companion and is angry with the chief queen, who has been all kindness to her and whom she falsely suspects as having released Mālavikā by means of her ring.

Though she is invited by Dhārini to witness the the marriage of the King with Mālavikā, she sends a courteous reply, but does not attend the ceremony. In some editions of Kālidâsa's Mālavikāgnimitram, she is described as a woman of a low origin, who is engaged by Dhārini as her attendant, but whose beauty captivates the King and leads him to make her his second queen. Such an interpretation seems to be correct on the ground that she is fond of wine and her manners are not at all refined. But in judging her character, we must not forget her great provocation and also the love she bears for Vasulakshmi, Dharini's daughter, when being heedless of the King's treachery, she asks him with emotion to hasten to the girl and rescue her from the monkey which has attacked her.

But Dhārini, the chief queen, is a nobler personage. Though she is at first touched by jealousy, which makes her keep Mâlavikâ away from the King's gaze, and which leads her to make some efforts to prevent the production of Mâlavikâ on the stage by Ganadāsa, who is contending with Haradatta for supremacy as a teacher of singing and dancing, yet later on she does not like Irāvati, stoop to any mean contrivances for preventing the union of the King with Mâlavikā, which, she finds, has become inevitable. She promises to Mālavikâ that she will fulfil her wish, if the As´oka tree blossoms, for which she asks the female gardener to do everything in her power, for example watering it regularly and erecting a dam, so that water may not escape. She is highly respected by

the King, who addresses her by the title of Devi or goddess. After the As'oka tree has blossomed, she makes arrangements for redeeming her promise to Mālavikā. Now two items of good tidings increase her delight and magnanimity. One is the conquest of Vidarbha by her brother Virasena, her husband's general, and the second is the still happier news of the defeat by her son Vasumitra of the cavalry of the Yavana or Greek King on the banks of the Sindhu. The high-minded queen herself gives Mâlavikâ away to the King in marriage. Her question after the marriage to the King—'O Lord ! tell me what more shall I do for your good ?'—is full of suggestion, for which Kālidâsa is so celebrated. The question, apparently a harmless one, is ironical in its import. The chief queen, who has served the King so long with the heartiest devotion and love, has now given Mâlavikā in marriage to her faithless husband, and shows her readiness for conferring on him more good of a like nature. The King pretends to take the words of Dhârini in their literal sense and awkwardly wriggles out of a perplexing situation by saying—'मम तावद्तावद्व प्रियम—i.e. this (marriage) has been to me the greatest good, (and nothing more is necessary)'. It appears that the chief queen, e.g., Dhârini, can take part in the coronation of the King. Irāvati is addressed as Bhattini or one who is not crowned along with the King.

We now come to Aus'inari, the chief queen of Vikramorvas'i. She like Dhārini becomes at first

jealous, when she discovers through her female attendant, Nipunikā, from the foolish Vidushaka of the King, his faithlessness and his passion for Urvas'i. An accident enables her to obtain the very letter which the nymph has written on a birch-bark to her royal lover. She confronts the faithless King with it and leaves him abruptly, even when he falls at her feet. She then becomes aware of her error, and on the pretext of the performance of a religious vow (vrata) for which the King's presence is necessary, invites him to the roof of the palace to attend the ceremony. Notice her contrast with Irâvati in this respect. Aus'inari, for a much lighter offence, seeks to propitiate the King, but Irāvati is too arrogant to do so, and she can stoop only to tendering her apology to the King's portrait. Even when invited by Dhārini, she declines to attend the ceremony of the King's marriage with Mālavikā, and simply communicates her excuse through an attendant. After the vrata is over, Aus'inari gives solemn permission to the King to marry the lady of his heart, and retires to her apartments. This magnanimity of the queen and her dignified bearing touch for the time being the heart even of the selfish and passionate Urvas'i, who exclaims —'This Lady has been addressed (by the King) with the title of Devi or Goddess ; this is proper. She is not in the least inferior to S'achi or the queen of Indra in highmindedness and strength of character.' This self-sacrifice on the part of the queen makes her from this moment abstain from doing anything, which may mar the happiness of her lord. Chitralekhā, Urvas'i's

confidante, says—

"She is a lady
Of an exalted spirit and a wife
Of duty most exemplary. You now
May rest assured, nothing will more impede
Your union with your Love"—W.

After her solemn making-over of her husband to Urvas'i, we find her at the beginning of the fifth act, as stated by the Vidushaka, occupied with her religious duties to which she has dedicated her body and soul.

It must be said to the credit of the infatuated King that in his old age when he has found out his son by Urvas'i, whom he instals as Yuvarāja, and when Indra has allowed Urvas'i to live with him during his earthly life, he does not forget his devoted queen and thinks of paying respects to her personally with his son A'yus. (VV—V—137).

But the queens of Dushmanta are of a still nobler type. They in a spirit of sublime magnaminity do not make their appearance at all, and do not in any way interfere with their husband's new amour. We become acquainted with the queen Hamsapadikâ from a distance through the inimitable and suggestive lyric she sings, in which she pours out the whole of her languishing and loving heart (see p. 355). The chief queen Vasumati wants to come to her husband with an important despatch, which the minister has addressed to him for the urgent settlement of a case of succession to a merchant's estate. Though this dutiful consort of the King is eager to remind her lord of his duties as a ruler, yet on second thought that her

presence may cause him some perplexity, she gives up the idea of coming, and sends the minister's letter to him through her female attendant. So we see that with the improvement of the notion of ideal kingship in the mind of the aging dramatist, there is effected also a development of the conception of ideal queenship.

Of the female attendants of the queens, it may be said that they are all clever, witty and devoted to their mistresses. The Vidushakas are the victims of their pranks. Vakulâvalikâ suffers imprisonment for Mâlavikā. Nipunikā appears to be a mischievous woman, but we must remember that she has to please Irāvati, a not commendable sort of person. She might have been altogether a different woman, if she had been the attendant of the noble Dhārini. Her namesake in Vikramorvas'i is equally clever. She cheats the Vidushaka of the secret amour of the King. Though the female attendants appear to be of the same type, the delicate touches of the dramatist differentiate them sufficiently from one another.

Kaus'iki is devoted to Málavikā like her unfortunate brother Sumati, who lays down his life for his master's daughter. She is a widow and an ascetic versed in literature and arts, and a sound critic with considerable tactfulness which prevents her from being recognised even by Mālavikā and being detected by Dharini, while she has been trying her best to bring about the union of the King with Mālavikā—the object of her and her lamented brother's mission, though at first against the wishes of her patroness

Dhārini herself.

The three Vidushakas possess in common excessive fondness for food and drink and specially modaka or sweetmeat. They do not relish roasted meat (A. S-II—1). They are Brāhmans of a low origin. They do not spare any one, however his or her position may be. Their jests are never coarse, but are stale and and about hunger and do not show much wit or humour. The Vidushakas have at their disposal maxims and proverbs, which they use on fit occasions. They are devoted to their masters, whose confidants they are, though sometimes for want of commonsense, they do things which embarrass them.

Dushmanta's Vidushaka Mādhavya, though his only object is to serve the King faithfully and console him in his affliction, seems to be dull, as otherwise he would not have accepted as gospel truth his master's statement that his eye is not on any girl of the hermitage. He becomes the unfortunate victim of the pretended wrath of Mātali, a clumsy device resorted to by the latter for reminding Dushmanta of his important duties as a ruler. He is however always witty. His remark about Dushmanta's preference of tamarind to dates, when the King thinks of courting S'akuntalā, though he has several queens of peerless beauty, his statement that he will in future censure his staff for its crookedness, when the King begins to blame his signet-ring for its leaving S'akuntalā's finger, his remark that the encouragement of the overworked King by the heralds is as ineffectual as that of the bull when he is called the lord of the bovine herd,

and his saying that the King will now fill S'akuntalā's beautiful portrait with the ugly bearded figures of hermits, show his power of ready witticism.

Pururavā's companion, Mānavaka, appears to be foolish. He is cheated of the secret amour of the King with Urvas'i by the clever female attendant of the queen. Again he allows Urvas'i's letter to the King to fall into the hands of the queen, though he has the presence of mind to say that it has followed Urvas'i to Paradise. He does not even covet the delights of heaven. Kitchen delicacies are the be-all and end-all of his life. He makes his own ugliness the butt of others' ridicule. When the King asks his son to salute his friend, Mānavaka says that A yus need not fear, because he has seen apes like him in the hermitage.

Gautama, the Vidushaka of Agnimitra is the most intelligent of the three. It is he who provokes a quarrel between Ganadāsa and Haradatta, masters of singing and dancing, regarding their superiority, which leads to Ganadāsa's producing his pupil, Mālavikā, before the King and his court. It is he who causes Dhārini to fall from the swing and hurt her left foot, which prevents her from touching the As'oka tree with it and makes her ask Mâlavikâ to do so. Though he is so clever, he is twice outwitted by Irāvati and her attendant Nipunikā. Gautama brings about a second meeting of the King with Mālavikā in the pleasure-garden, which is interrupted by Irâvati and which leads to

Mālavikā's imprisonment from which she is released by means of Dhārini's ring being cleverly procured from her by Gautama on his feigning that he has been bitten by a venomous snake. He brings about their third meeting again to be interrupted by the second queen. Only on this occasion, when he has been asked by the King who is with Mālavika, to act as a sentinel at the gate of the arbour, his vigilance becomes asleep, because a rich repast and a shady place make him drowsy; and Nipunikā, the attendant of Irāvati, mischievous like her mistress, startles him from his sleep by throwing his stick on him and making him believe that a real snake has flung itself on him from the tree above. So we find that though the three Vidushakas have some common traits, yet they have been sufficiently differentiated from one another by the Master-artist.

Of the three heroines, Mālavikā, Urvas'i, and S'akuntalā, Urvas'i is the lowest and S'akuntalā the noblest and 'beyond compare'. We see the girl Mālavikā, when she is produced before the audience including the King and the chief queen, by Ganadāsa who wants to establish, by exhibiting Mālavikā as a dancer and singer, his superiority to Haradatta, his rival. She is then in the full bloom of her youthful beauty. The King already captivated by her portrait finds the original more ravishing than the copy, and falls desperately in love with her. She is now in the presence of one, whom her brother selected as her future husband. She, who was a princess, has through the vicissitudes of fortune become a female attendant

of the chief queen, who wants to train her in dancing and singing with the help of the artist Ganadâsa and also to keep her away from the King as much as possible. She proves an apt pupil, Ganadāsa says—

पात्रविशेषे न्यस्तं गुणान्तरं व्रजति शिल्पम् आधातुः।
जलमिव समुद्रशुक्तौ मुक्ताफलतां पयोदस्य ॥ — M. M.-I-37.

(শিক্ষকের শিল্প-শিক্ষা সুপাত্রে হইলে ন্যস্ত ধরে গুণ কত।
সাগর-শুক্তিতে যথা, মেঘ-জল মুক্তারূপে হয় পরিণত ॥)

—J. T.

(A teacher's skill to pupils apt applied,
Like rain on sea-shells to pearls fructified.)

She is all modesty and Ganadāsa asks her to give up nervousness before the audience. She like S'akuntalā reveals her heart to the King by means of a charming verse in Prākrita, the Sanskritised form of which is—

दुर्लभः प्रियः, तस्मिन् भव हृदय निराशम् ;
अहो अपाङ्गको मे परिस्फुरति किमपि वामकम् ।
एष स चिरदृष्टः कथम् उपनेतव्यः ;
नाथ मां पराधीनां त्वयि गणय सतृष्णाम् —M.M.—II—13.

(দুর্লভ বল্লভ মোর,
ছাড়ো হৃদি ! প্রত্যাশা তাঁহার।
নাচে যে গো বামনেত্র—
তবে আশা কর পুনর্ব্বার।
বহুপূর্ব্বে দেখেছিনু—
পুন যে গো সে মূর্ত্তি নেহারি।

পরাধিনী আমি নাথ,
তবু জেনো তৃষিতা তোমারি ॥)—J. T..

(My heart, despair, my Darling is too dear ;
But my left eye throbs: hence I need not fear.
But how to get one after long I see ?
Dependent am, but eager thine to be.)

We should not ascribe the song to her artfulness, because she is under the idea that this is the only occasion, when she may open her mind in the presence of the King. The King's Vidushaka contrives to bring his master and Mālavikā together, when the King professes his love for her, who, though actuated by love herself, cannot communicate her feeling to her lover on account of her natural shyness. Just then they are interrupted by the second queen, Irāvati, who induces the chief queen to imprison Mālavikā and her companion Vakulāvalikā in an underground cell. The Vidushaka dexterously brings about their release, and also makes arrangements for a third meeting of the King with Mālavikā in the portrait-gallery, when Mālavikā becomes jealous on seeing a picture, in which the King is depicted as looking with loving regard at a beautiful woman, who later on proves to be Irāvati, though her natural coyness is still evident. She becomes a little bolder and taunts the King with his fear of Irāvati. They are again interrupted by the second queen, and are extricated from the delicate situation by a brown ape attacking the little Vasulakshmi, daughter of Dhārini. Now the tide turns in her

favour. The As'oka tree blossoms, and the chief queen has said that when the tree flowers, Mālavikā's wish will be gratified. Now the news also arrives that the chief queen's brother, Virasena, has defeated the King of Vidarbha. The chief queen orders the nun Kaus'iki to dress Mālavikā in the best manner for her marriage, to which she invites the King and Irāvati. Now two artist-girls come to the court and recognise Mālavikā as the sister of the King of Vidarbha, and Kaus'iki as the sister of his minister. Then another piece of happier news arrives, namely, the victory of Dhârini's son, Vasumitra, over the Yavanas on the bank of the Sindhu. All are highly delighted, specially the chief queen, Dhârini, who magnanimously unites Mālavikā with her royal lover. Mâlavikâ, we have seen, came to the royal capital with the purpose of marrying the King, which she communicated to him on the first opportunity. Though superior to Irāvati, she is a small figure beside Dhârini, and we believe that she will [illegible] easily, tolerate the presence of any rival, as her behaviour in the portrait-gallery has already shown. She

Urvas'i is a heroine of a low order; Kālidasa knows this. But what can he do? The story of Pururavas and Urvas'i is not his own creation. It is as old and as sacred as the Rigveda. Urvas'i cannot change her nature. She is the dancing-girl of Indra's court, and cannot divest herself of her selfish and passionate character. Her love for Pururavas is, however, sincere, and not in the least feigned. She sees the King, and is ravished by his beauty, as he is

by hers. The nature of both is similar. The absorbing passion of love makes the King oblivious of his duties as a ruler and makes the nymph forget her duty as an actress before the assembly of gods, for which she is cursed by Bharata. This curse, however, enables her to come down to the earth and dwell with her lover. Sometime after her first meeting with the King, she with her companion Chitralekhā watches him from a distance, both of them remaining invisible, finds him sincerely attached to her, and writes a letter confessing her love, which he highly appreciates. Here the Dramatist exhibits his deep insight into female character. When Chitralekhā asks the anxious Urvaśī to ascertain what is passing in the mind of her royal lover by means of telepathy, the latter hesitates to do so and [illegible]ays that nothing will pain her more than the knowledge that the King has become attached to some other woman. When she finds that his love is as ardent [illegible]ers, she makes herself visible and approaches him [illegible] her companion and salutes him with a grace[illegible]odesty; but their meeting is interrupted by the m[illegible] from Indra that she has to play an im[illegible]rtan[illegible] in a drama to be enacted before him.

She aga[illegible]mes down to the roof of the palace with Chitralekhā, [illegible]here the King and the chief queen are present, and is [illegible]moved for the time being by Ausinari's gra[illegible], dignity and magnanimity of which she herself is devoid; but she cannot rise to the height of the occasion and renounce her lover to his worthy consort. She becomes united with the King, to which permission has been solemnly given by the queen, and

persuades him to let his kingdom and his duties alone and spend his honeymoon with her in the most beautiful part of the Himalayas, the court of the Goddess of Nature. Here another side of her character manifests itself, namely, her intense jealousy and frivolity. The King looks at a Vidyādhara girl named Udakavati with a loving glance—did she expect the King, who could easily transfer his love to her from his worthy and devoted wife Aus'inari, to be constant ?—and this trifling incident smites her with jealousy, and she trespasses into sacred grounds in a fit of indignation, and is changed into a creeper, which distracts her lover to the verge of frenzy, and from which condition. she is rescued by a gem of a divine origin, which the King finds accidentally. They become reunited, and now think of returning to the capital. A son named A'yus has been the fruit of their union, but as the sight of A'yus will part the lovers for ever, selfish as she is, she conceals him from the King's gaze. The taking of the gem by a vulture, which A'yus kills with his arrow, brings him to the notice of the King, and the parting of the King and the nymph, which has now become inevitable, is prevented by a fresh concession on the part of Indra, who allows Urvas'i to remain with Pururavâ during his earthly life. It must be said to her credit that she remembers in the last scene the duty which her son owes to the chief queen, and she directs him to pay his respects to his elder mother.

In Mālavikāgnimitram, the Poet heightens the character of the stately and noble Dhārini by contrasting her with the narrow-minded and ireful

Irāvati. Similarly in his Vikramorvas'i, he exalts the character of the broad-minded, selfless and dignified Aus'inari by contrasting her with the selfish, passionate and frivolous Urvas'i. But in his Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam, he is reluctant to disturb the atmosphere of peace, happiness and romantic love, with which the play begins, by introducing any incongruous element; but when it is introduced at Hastināpura by Durvāsā's curse, and when the love-bond seems to be sundered by an untoward accident, we are made ready by the Poet for a calmer, purer and happier environment, where love begotten of earthly passion being sanctified by suffering is transformed into an emotion "which spirits feel in worlds whose course is equable and pure."

S'akuntalā is indescribable. Even an attempt at the delineation of her character and conduct is likely to fill a whole volume. We get the first sight of her, when she has been watering her plants with a brotherly love (सोदरस्नेहः) which we do not even extend to our fellow-men. Kanva bears testimony to her sisterly affection for the Mādhavi creeper (A.S —IV-104). The female deer and the orphan gazelle are the objects of her affection (A.S.—IV1-10-13). Whenever a plant is missed, she draws to it the attention of her companions Anasuyā and Priyamvadā. She like Umā (K.S.—V—8, 14 and 15) wears a bark-dress and tends trees and deer. When the King, who has been watching her graceful movements from a distance and wondering how the sage Kanva can attempt the impossible task of inuring 'this form of artless grace'

—अवयाजमनोहरं वपुः—to the austerities of a hermitess, presents himself suddenly before her, Sakuntalâ, who is the incarnation of modesty, becomes nervous and remains silent, though she realises that a feeling, which is inconsistent with the purity of the hermitage, is rising in her mind for the noble guest. When her two companions guess what is passing in her mind, and suggest her marriage with him, she shows her anger. When the King praises her heavenly beauty, which is possible only on account of her being the daughter of a celestial nymph, she turns her eyes towards the ground not only for the King's high praise of her charms, but also because she is not proud of being the offspring of the unrighteous union of Vis′vâmitra and Menakâ. She cannot stay in the King's presence for long; but before leaving the place she turns her eyes towards him and remains in this attituds for sometime, till she can free her bark-dress from the Kuruvaka tree, to which it has attached itself.

Both S′akuntalâ and the King become love-stricken. S′akuntalā pines for the King. He for the second time overhears her conversation with her companions from a distance. She after repeated questions reveals the cause of her disorder to her companions, who assure her that the King has been similarly affected. She in compliance with their request agrees to write this letter to the King———
(Sanskritised version of Prākrita)—

तव न जाने हृदयं, मम पुनः कामः दिवा अपि रात्रौ अपि ।
निघृणः तपति बलीयः त्वयि वृत्तमनोरथानि अङ्गानि ॥ A. S.—III-64.

(জানি না হৃদয় তব, মোরে কিন্তু মনোভব,
অহোরাত্র করে অঙ্গে অতি তাপ দান হে, অতি তাপ দান।
তব হস্তে মনোরথ, নাহি অন্য কোন পথ,
করুণা-বিহীন তব কঠিন পরাণ হে—কঠিন পরাণ ॥)—D.L.Roy.

(I know not if I read your heart aright ;
Why, pitiless, do you distress me so !
I only know that longing day and night
Tosses my restless body to and fro,
That yearns for you, the source of all its woe.)
—T. K. R.

The King thinking this to be the most opportune moment of presenting himself before his Beloved, advances towards her and says—

तपति तनुगात्रि मदनस्त्वामनिशं मां पुनर्दहत्येव ।
ग्लपयति यथा शशाङ्कं न तथाहि कुमुद्वतीं दिवसः ॥—A.S.-III-66

(Though Love torments you, slender maid,
Yet he consumes me quite,
As daylight shuts night-blooming flowers
And slays the moon outright)—T. K. R.

(কৃশাঙ্গি ! তোমায় স্মর, তাপ দেয় নিরন্তর ;
মোরে কিন্তু অনিবার করিছে দাহন রে, করিছে দাহন ।
দিবস রজনী-করে, যথা গ্লানি-যুক্ত করে
কুমুদীরে কভু নাহি করয়ে তেমন হে—করয়ে তেমন ॥—(U.N.M.)

S'akuntalā tries to rise for showing respect to the King, but is dissuaded by him. Priyamvadā tells the King that the God of Love has effected this change in their friend through the King's instrumentality and that it is desirable that he should kindly devise means

for saving her life. The King replies that he is much obliged by the request, as both of them have been similarly affected. S'akunṭalā remarks that it is useless to request the King who has been feeling keenly his separation from the female inmates of his palace. He assures her that though he has many wives, the two, namely, S'akuntalâ and his kingdom, will enhance the glory of his family. Now Anasuyā and Priyamvadā leave them alone. The King persuades her to marry him in the Gāndharva manner. Then he leaves for his capital promising to take her there in the course of five days. S'akuntalā feels her separation sorely. When she is thus occupied, Durvāsâ, who is ire itself, not receiving any reply from her, pronounces the curse, which he later on at the prayer of Anasuyâ modifies into the following—that her beloved will not be able to recollect her, unless a remembrancer is produced.

We learn from a disciple of Kanva that he has returned from his pilgrimage and has asked his pupil to watch the proper time for his morning-sacrifice. The setting of the moon and the rising of the sun suggest to him the vicissitudes of human fortune—

तेजोद्वयस्य युगपद्व्यसनोदयाभ्यां लोको नियम्यत इवात्मदशान्तरेषु

A. S.—IV—33.

'the simultaneous setting of one luminary and the rising of the other warn men of the changes of their fortune.' This is significant and forebodes the evil days which await S'akuntalā. The disciple's remark that separation from one's beloved is very painful, which he bases on the paleness of the lily during the day

when she is separated from her lover—the Moon, implies the poignancy of S'akuntalā's desolation (Ibid-34). Kanva comes to know all that have happened from a heavenly voice, and without being angry with his adopted daughter approves of her selection, and asks the inmates to make arrangements for her departure to her husband's palace and requests his sister Gautami and his disciples S'ārngarava and S'āradvata to escort her there.

Sakuntalā now realises that she shall have to leave the hermitage, in which she has been brought up, and to every plant and animal of which she has been attached most ardently,and the inmates of which have been her only dear and near ones in this world since her childhood. She sheds tears while the parting religious rites are being performed. None is more aggrieved on this occasion than Kanva, but he controls his emotion in a manner worthy of a sage. After S'akuntalā has worn the ornaments and cloth given to her through the disciple, Hārita, by the trees, as her bark-dress and sylvan ornaments are not appropriate to a queen, she prostrates herself before Kanva who blesses her. After she has moved round the sacred fire, Kanva gives her permission to set out on her journey. He turns his eyes in another direction, as they are filled with tears. Now the two disciples come, and are requested to accompany their sister. Then the sage asks the trees and their presiding deities to give permission to S'akuntalā, who has long tended the former with the most affectionate care, has never tasted water till she has watered

them, has not cut a single spray even for the sake of her ornament and has felt joy, whenever they have blossomed. She says to Priyamvadā that though she is eager to see her husband, she is feeling acutely the pain of parting from her friends and guardians. Priyamvadā replies that S'akuntalā is not the only one who feels sad at that farewell and that the whole arbour feels the pang of separation from her—(Sanskritised Prākrita)—

उद्गलितदर्भकवलाः मृगयः परित्यक्तनर्त्तनाः मयूराः ।
अपसृतपाण्डुपत्राः मुञ्चन्ति अश्रूणि इव लताः ॥

A. S.—IV—102.

(The grass drops from the feeding doe ;
The peahen stops her dance,
Pale, trembling leaves are falling slow,
The tears of clinging plants.)

—T. K. R.

(মৃগী ত্যজে কুশগ্রাস, ময়ূরী নর্ত্তন ।
লতা পাণ্ডু-পত্র-অশ্রু করে বিসর্জ্জন ॥)

She now greets her sister, the creeper Mādhavi and says to her after embracing her—"Creeper-sister, embrace me with your tendrils. From to-day we shall be remote from each other." Then turning her eyes to Kanva, she says "Papa, look upon these with the same affection, as you have done upon me." Then Priyamvadā and Anasuyā shed tears, and ask S'akuntalā to whom she is going to leave them. Kanva requests them not to cry, as it will increase S'akuntalā's grief. But Kanva himself, an affection-

ate guardian as he is, finds it very difficult to control himself and moves hither and thither to hide his tears. S′akuntalâ requests her guardian to inform her when the female deer gives birth to her child, which he promises. Now a baby-deer comes to her, and intercepts her going, and touches the lappet of her cloth. She asks Kanva with tears in her eyes to see that the fawn be not neglected, as she has brought it up since its infancy, when its mother died. He asks her not to shed tears, as they will prevent her from seeing the ups and downs of the road and make her slip. Then he asks his disciples to convey to the King his touching but at the same time dignified message (see p. 352). He counsels S′akuntalā to obey her seniors in her husband's house, to treat his other wives as dear friends, to be kind to her servants, and never to run counter to the wishes of her husband. Kanva now takes final leave and says that Anasuyā and Priyamvadā should not proceed further, as they are of marriageable age. After prostrating herself at her father's feet and embracing Priyamvadâ and Anasuyā, who ask her to show the King the signet-ring which he put round her finger, in case her husband cannot recognise her, she becomes nervous and being reassured takes her leave with a heavy heart. When Kanva reminds S′akuntalâ that it is the time for his religious devotion, she says that he will not miss her, as he will be engrossed by his holy rites, but that she will miss him much. He replies that he seems to be almost paralysed and does not know what to say and that his grief will be in-

tensified by the seedlings which will spring from the seed she has been accustomed to offer as a sacrifice at the cottage-door. Then he bids her good-bye.

After S'akuntalā has left, Kanva consoles Priyamvadā and Anasuyā and says that he is himself again after sending S'akuntalā to her husband's home for—

अर्थो...... इवान्तरात्मा (A. S.—IV—151. See P. 354).

The loving kindness of the inmates of the hermitage towards S'akuntalā is contrasted by Kālidāsa with her cruel reception by her husband at Hastināpura.

When S'ārngarava and Gautami present S'akuntalā to Dushmanta at Hastināpura and ask him to accept her as his wife, he says that their statement appears to him like fiction. S'akuntalā now finds that her worst fear has become real. When the King says to S'ārngarava that it is wrong for them to make such an unrighteous proposal, the latter indignantly retorts that wealth and power have distracted the mind of the King. S'akuntalā removes her veil at the request of Gautami, but the King, though struck by her beauty, is unable to recognise her. Her despair now knows no bounds. S'ārngarava becomes incensed at the behaviour of Dushmanta, whom he likens to a thief, to whom Kanva has condescended to give the stolen property. S'āradvata dissuades S'ārngarava from using hard words to the King, and asks S'akuntalā to produce something as an evidence of her marriage. She seeks the ring, but it cannot be found. It has slipped into the Ganges, as Gautami says, during her bath at S'achitirtha. Though S'akuntalā reminds him

of an incident of the hermitage—the coming of the baby-deer to her for water, its declining to take it from his hands but its readily drinking it from hers—he is unable to remember it. He uses some hard words regarding her artfulness, but she, though excited, gives a dignified reply, and finding her case hopeless begins to shed tears. Though Gautami is inclined to take the weeping and following S'akuntalā back with her, she is dissuaded by S'ārngarava from doing so. Now the priest of the King takes charge of her who is in the depths of despair, but a bright nymph comes down from the sky and takes her away. We meet S akuntalâ again at the peaceful hermitage of Mâricha on the Himalayas after her child has been born, and after Dushmanta has got back his ring, which has reminded him of all the incidents of his marriage and has filled him with deep remorse and keen longing for the wife he has treated so ignobly, though unwittingly. The King falls at the feet of S'akuntalā who readly forgives him, and they are reunited. After receiving the blessing of Māricha and his wife, the parents of gods, and after being assured that the news of their reunion and the fact that Dushmanta's forgetfulness was due to Durvâsâ's curse, will be communicated to Kanva, they return with their child to their capital in Indra's chariot.

From what has been stated above, some of the prominent traits of S'akuntalâ present themselves to our mind's eye. Her innocence, her simplicity, her deep sympathy with animate and inanimate nature,

her love for her companious, her respect for Gautami, the sister of her adoptive father, her devotion to him, her love for her husband, her beauty and dignity, her self-control, both when she pines with love and also when she is flouted by her husband, her ready forgiveness of her husband who has treated her in an ignoble manner, above all her graceful modesty and bashfuless in all her movements, specially when after their reunion she says to her husband that she feels it delicate to go to her reverend seniors in his company, are depicted with a skill which excites our admiration. A deep insight into female character is exhibited by the Poet in S´akuntalā's refusal to wear the untrustworthy ring, even when she is asked by the King to do so after their reunion.

Mr. Ryder thus concludes his sketch of the heroine's character—" So noble a union of sweetness with strength is one of the miracles of art......because it is a most perfect beauty of soul, no less than of outward form. Her character grows under our very eyes. When we first meet her, she is a simple maiden, knowing no greater sorrow than the death of a favourite deer ; when we bid her farewell, she has passed through happy love, the mother's joys and pains, the most cruel humiliation and suspicion, and the reunion with her husband proved at last not to have been unworthy. And each of these great experiences has been met with a courage and a sweetness to which no words can render justice."[1]

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1. T. K. R.—p.p. 102-3.

The late Mr. D. L. Roy in his admirable critique 'Kālidāsa and Bhavabhuti,' after saying that Kālidāsa has purified the lustful S'akuntalā of the Mahābhārata to a considerable extent, remarks that he has begun S'akuntalā as a common lover (प्रेमिका) and has ended her as a goddess (देवी). But the critic at the same time has brought the following charges against her—her duplicity with her companions, her unblushing love-making with the King in solitude, her insinuation against her future cowives, and her marrying Dushmanta without her guardian's permission, which, the critic remarks, is almost the last stage of her downfall. The critic seems to be inconsistent regardding at least some of his accusations. When S'akuntalā out of her natural modesty tries to conceal her love, which she has characterised as inconsistent with the hermitage (तपोवनविरूद्ध) the critic calls it duplicity, and when she pours out her heart to the King, he condemns it as unblushing. Let us examine the charges *seriatim*. When for example Anasuyā and Priyamvadā noticing that Dushmanta and S'akuntalā have been attracted towards each other, remark that if Kanva had been present, he would have gratified his guest with even what he deems precious like his life (meaning of course his adopted daughter), S'akuntalā pretends anger, (I—89 and 90). Would the critic commend her answering her companions in the affirmative ? If this be duplicity, it is at least something to which the best living girl is liable. We must remember also that she is trying to control her emotion though it has been becoming stronger and

stronger. It is not S'akuntalâ who unblushingly communicates to the King her love which has been consuming her heart, but it is her companions who make her do so. Only then she makes her confession and says that *if they agree* they may try to make her the object of his kindness (III—41). When they ask her to compose a love-letter, she still hesitates (my heart quakes—वेपते मे हृदयम्—III—53). She is then joined by the King. Her companions leave her against her wish. She is very unwilling that the King should take any liberty with her before her marriage. She knows well that her father Kanva has been seeking a worthy bridegroom. Who can be worthier than Dushmanta? She is aware and Dushmanta has assured her that there can be no objection to a gāndharva marriage and that several such marriages have actually taken place (III—118 to 120). We are informed by Anasuyâ (IV—1) that S'akuntalā has been married to Dushmanta with gāndharvâ rites, of course, in the presence of Anasuyā and Priyamvadā. She is to blame to some extent for marrying the King in her father's absence, but in this her companions and specially the King are more guilty than she. As regards her insinuation that it is useless to tell the King anything as he has been feeling much his separation from his queens (III—84), we should bear in mind that when their attachment to each other has been known, and when the proposal for marriage is going to be made by her companions, it is necessary for her to ascertain how she is likely to be treated when the King returns with her to his

palace. Otherwise she would have been accused of marrying indiscreetly and in hot haste.

In the delineation of the scene in the hermitage on the occasion of S′akuntalā's leaving for her husband's capital the Poet's highest powers have been displayed. There is no description in the whole realm of literature, so far as we know, which surpasses it in pathos, in beauty and in sympathy with nature and man.

Both Anasuyā and Priyamvadā are devoted to Sakuntalā. No jealousy, no anger, finds any place in their hearts in their dealings with S′akuntalā who is more than a sister to them. They are as old as S′akuntalā, and will be soon given away by Kanva in marriage to suitable bridegrooms. Priyamvadâ is distinguished from Anasuyā by her sparkling wit, readier conversational power, and greater quickness of perception. The chief characteristic of both is their profound sympathy for S′akuntalā. They are always ready to share her grief स्निग्धजनसंविभक्तं हि दुःखं सहप्रवेदनं भवति—(A. S.—III—33)—'When grief is shared by beloved ones, it becomes endurable.' The King also bears testimony to their great sympathy for S′akuntalâ in her happiness and misery (A.S.—III—34). They are as selfless as Chitralekhā, Urvas′i's companion in Vikramorvas′i. Nothing that may grieve S′akuntalā or aggravate her sorrow—for example the curse of Durvāsā—they will communicate to her. Priyamvadâ acquiesces in Anasuyâ's suggestion and says, 'Who is so heartless as will pour hot water on the smiling navamallikā flower—(A.S.-IV-31)' ? Their parting from her, in whom all their youthful affection

is concentrated, is one of the most touching chapters in the whole volume of literature.

The part played by S'akuntalā's mother, Menakâ, should not be ignored. The dramatist does not produce her before us for obvious reasons, the chief of which is her illicit union with Vis'vāmitra. When S'akuntalâ is in the depths of despair at Hastinâpura, she takes her away to the hermitage of Māricha. She sends her intimate friend S'anumati or Mis'rakes'i to watch Dushmanta's attitude after his disownment of S'akuntalā who is consoled by the news of the King's constancy towards her and of the intensity of his remorse for his past conduct. Mis'rakes'i also prepares us for what follows (A.S.-VI-I84). It is probably on account of Menakâ's entreaty that Indra sends Mātali down to Hastinâpura for requesting Dushmanta to come up to Paradise to fight with his enemy and later on to visit the hermitage of Mâricha, where S'akuntalâ has been residing with her child Sarvadamana.

S'ārngarava and S'āradvata, both are devoted to their preceptor. But S'āradvata has more patience than his friend, whose honest heart is filled with righteous indignation, whenever a wrong is done. S'āradvata is a man of few words and keeps himself in the background, while S'ārngarava takes the lead and becomes the spokesman of the party. Though he communicates his mission to the King with tact and politeness, Dushmanta's conduct makes him change his tone and manner, and his answers become haughty, though dignified.

Kanva and his virtuous and staid sister Gautami,

who acts as the 'matron or superior of the female part of the society of hermits,' are fit to be the guardians of the inimitable S'akuntalā and deserve her respect, affection and devotion. Kanva's piety, his selflessness, his self-control—he shows no irritation though S'akuntalā has married without his permission—his profound sense of duty which inspite of the keenness of the agony of separation makes him feel delight for his being able to confide S'akuntalā—a pledged thing—to her husband, his love for his disciples and wards, specially for his adopted daughter, that knows no bounds, make him an ideal man. He is the best of Kâlidāsa's male creations, higher than his Dilipa, Raghu and Rāma in his Raghuvams'am and higher than Shakespeare's Prospero in his Tempest.

As Sanskrit Kāvya attains its highest development in Kālidasâ's Raghuvams'am, so Sanskrit Drama does in his Abhijnâna-S'akuntalam, the eulogy on which by the greatest German Dramatist, though repeated for the hundredth time, will repay perusal—

"Willst du die Blüthe des frühen, die Früchte des späteren Jahres,
Willst du was reizt und entzückt, willst du was sättigt and nährt,
Willst du den Himmel, die Erde mit einem Namen begreifen :
Nenn' ich Sakontalâ, Dich, und so ist Alles gesagt."
—Goethe.

(Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and fruits of its decline,

And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured
feasted, fed,
Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one
sole name combine,
I name thee, O S akuntalâ ! and all at once is said).

—E. B, Eastwick.

Chapter VIII.

The Condition of the Hindu Society in the time of Ka'lida'sa.

'Man seeketh in Society comfort, use and protection'—Bacon.

The Poet's accurate observation of the men and things around him, the results of which he has embodied in his works, enables us to obtain valuable information about the time in which he lived.

Though imperial sovereignty is indicated by Dilipa's एकातपत्रं जगतः प्रभुत्वं (R.V.-II-47) and Nishadha's reigning over एकातपत्रां भुवं (R.V.-XVIII-4), yet autocracy was not the rule but an exception in medieval India. Tribal republics like Utsavasamketas are mentioned in connexion with Raghu's conquests (R.V-IV-78). Dilipa levies taxes from his subjects only for their welfare, as the sun takes moisture from the earth only to pour it a thousandfold (in the shape of rain) at some other time (R.V-I-18,see p. 254). He is the real father of his people for his educating, feeding and protecting them. Their fathers have simply given them birth—

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद्भरणादपि ।
स पिता, पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥—Ibid—24.

The full meaning of the term rājan or King has

been realised during Raghu's rule, whose sole object is to promote the wellbeing of his subjects—**तथैव सोभूदन्वर्थो राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात्** (R.V.-IV-12). Atithi directs his attention to the removal of the ignorance of his subjects by the promulgation of truths—**तत्त्वार्थेन नुदंस्तमः** (R.V.-XVIII-74).

Dushmanta disregarding his own pleasure subjects himself to pain for the happiness of his subjects—**स्वसुखनिरभिलाषः खिद्यसे लोकहेतोः** (A.S.-V-8). The important duties of a King (Dushmanta) are stated by the herald thus—

> **नियमयसि विमार्गप्रस्थितानात्तदण्डः,**
> **प्रशमयसि विवादं कल्पसे रक्षणाय ।**
> **अतनुषु विभवेषु ज्ञातयः संविभक्ता-**
> **स्त्वयि तु परिसमाप्तं बन्धुकृत्यं जनानाम्**—(A. S.-V.—9.)

(Thou preventest thy subjects with thy sceptre from going astray, protectest them by settling their quarrels, and actest as the best friend of the rich by justly dividing their wealth among their heirs after their death).

Rāmachandra is an ideal King. He banishes even his innocent and devoted wife for pleasing his subjects. He is really the father and also the son of his people—

> **तेनार्थवान् लोभपराङ्मुखेन, तेन घ्नता विघ्नभयं क्रियावान् ।**
> **तेनास लोकः पितृमान् विनेत्रा, तेनैव शोकापनुदेन पुत्री ॥**

R. V.—XIV—23.

(As he is averse to greed, his subjects become rich ; as he dispels the fear of obstacles, they perform scrupulously their religious rites ; as he teaches them

morals, he becomes their father ; and as he removes their grief, he acts as their son).

The prosperity of the people was due not only to good administration but also to the great productivity of the soil(as in the time of Das´aratha—R.V.-IX-4). There was consequent increase of population (as in the time of Atithi—R.V.-XVII-41). It appears that food-crops were more than sufficient in the time of the Poet. Megasthenes also bears testimony to the absence of famines in India. "There has never been a general scarcity in the supply of food."[1] The Greek writer adds that the inhabitants of India almost always gather two harvests annually. He also refers to the abundance of fruits and of esculent roots and to the fact that as the husbandman is regarded by belligerents as sacred and inviolable, agriculture goes on unmolested, while a war is being waged.[2]

Atithi daily consults his council of ministers—मन्त्रः प्रतिदिनं तस्य बभूव सह मन्त्रिभिः—(R.V.—XVII-50). He decides civil cases in consultation with his ministers (R.V.-XVII-39). The ministers of the King were generally Brâhmans to whom the work of administration was entrusted by the King during his absence, as is done by Dilipa when he leaves for the forest (R.V.-I-34), by Kus´a when he leaves Kusāvati for Ayodhyā (R.V.-XVI-25), and by Dushmanta, when he leaves for Indra's palace—(A.S.-VI-233 and 234). Even when the work of administration was carried on by ministers during the King's illness, it was super-

1. M. A. I.—p. 31.
2. Ibid—PP. 31-32.

vised by a king like Dushmanta, who asks his ministers to write to him about the business transacted (A.S.-VI-38). Das´aratha goes a-hunting, only when he is permitted by his ministers to do so—सचिवैः अनुमतः (सन्) ययौ (R.V.—IX—49). The King never initiated any important measure without the consent of his chief minister or of his council of ministers. Agnimitra decides upon sending an army under Virasena against Yajnasena, the King of Vidarva (Berar), only after his chief minister has agreed to the proposal (M.M.-I-46 and 47). Again when Yajnasena has been defeated, the King submits his proposal for dividing Vidarbha between Yajnasena and Mādhavasena to his council of ministers (मन्त्रिपरिषत्) of which the chief minister is President, and only when their consent is obtained, he asks the cabinet to write to the general Virasena to that effect (M M.-V-107to 114).

When a despatch or present would be received by a Viceroy from his master or by a son from his father, the Viceroy or son would rise from his seat and take the letter or present with due obeisance. When the uttariya (scarf) and letter from Pushpamitra (Pushyamitra) reach Agnimitra, his son and Viceroy at Vidis´a, the latter takes them most respectfully (M. M.——V—116).

A King like Atithi would show himself to his subjects every day, as his sight would remove their sins. (दुरितं दर्शनेन घ्नन्—R. V.-XVII—74).

When a King transferred his capital to a new place, he furnished his officials with quarters according to their rank (R.V.—XV1—40).

It was necessary on the death of a King that another should immediately succeed him. Otherwise there would be anarchy. So when Das aratha dies, as no prince is near at hand, the ministers suppress the news of his demise till the arrival of Bharata (R. V.—XII—12.) This is also the reason why Agnivarna's fatal illness and death are concealed till suitable arrangements for administration can be made. The news of the decease of the King is given out together with that of the Chief Queen's being with child and with the information that she has been appointed regent by the assembly of ministers and citizens. (R.V.-XIX—52to55).

Information was collected through spies, a large number of whom were employed (R.V.—XVII—40 and 51). सामदानभेदनिग्रहाः that is, peace-making, bribing, the policy of divide and rule, and punishment or war were the four political expedients of Kings(R.V.-XI-55).

Kings received proper education in S'astras and Fine Arts—Dushmanta is an adroit painter—and were married when they reached marriageable age. Kings and Queens were inquisitive about the objects which were around them. Dilipa and his queen Sudakshinā ask the milkmen who have come to sell fresh ghee (हैयङ्गवीन) about the names of the trees of the forest along their route (R.V.—I—45). Svayamvara and Gândharva marriage were in vogue among the Kshatriyas. The Gāndharva marriage was a much simpler affair than Brāhmavivāha (see below) celebrated between S'iva and Gauri described in the Kumārasambhava. In the former the love between

the bridegroom and bride as between Agnimitra and Mālavikā and between Dushmanta and S'akuntalā was the chief thing. One (e.g. Dhârini—M.M.—V—138) proffered formally the bride to the bridegroom, after she had been properly dressed and ornamented and covered her face with the veil-cloth (अवगुण्ठण-वसन' —M. M.—V—144) whom the bridegroom accepted (M. M.—V—147). As the king was much married, the existing queens, as the plays show, became jealous of the new-comer. The chief queen was highly respected, and was addressed as Devi or goddess by all including the King himself. The term 'Devi' was applied to all princesses and queens (M. M.—V—141 and 142). Sometimes it was confined to the chief queen. Gautami blesses S'akuntalā by saying that she may gain great honour by being addressed as Devi by her husband (A.S.—IV—59). Iràvati is addressed as Bhattini by her maidservant Nipunikā (M.M.—III—70, 72). Bhattini was a queen who did not take part in the coronation. The King was seldom discourteous to his wives. Even the insolent queen Irāvati is treated by her husband, Agnimitra, with consideration. Though the King had many wives, he was otherwise chaste. Dushmanta declines to accept S'akuntalā, as he believes her to be another man's wife (A.S.-V—83 and 119).

Rich men, it appears, had generally more wives than one. Dushmanta says (A.S.—VI—158) that as the merchant, Dhanavriddhi or Dhanamitra, who was drowned when his boat sank was very wealthy, it is probable that he had many wives. As in those

days kings and rich men had generally several wives, constancy in love among males was a thing almost unknown. Domestic peace and happiness were embittered by the jealousies of rival wives as the plays show. Women were praised if they loved their husbands inspite of the presence of co-wives —प्रतिपक्षेणापि पतिं सेवन्ते भर्त्तृवत्सलाः साध्व्यः (M.M.—V-150).

Kings were always ready to meet their enemy on the field of battle. But when their foes were defeated, they restored the submissive to their kingdoms like Raghu, Atithi and Agnimitra (R.V.-XVII-42 &c). They set out like Raghu on their expeditions in Autumn, when the rains were over (R.V.-IV-14, 15 and 24). Raghu sets out on his expedition after making arrangements for the protection of his capital and frontier fortresses. R. V.—IV—26 .) Their chief weapons were bows ands arrows, clubs, swords and spears. Names were written on arrows (K.S.—III—27, R. V.—VII—38; V.V.—V—30) They had armours even for their hands (हस्तावरक—A.S.-VII-209.). Horses had also armours (R.V.—IV—56). Princes wore helmets (R.V.—VII—62) Chariots, elephants and horses were utilised in a fight, which was decided more by the prowess of the general than by that of the mass of the army. There were expert drivers of chariots. (R.V.—I—17). It appears that Indian military tactics had not undergone much change since the time of Alexander's invasion of India in 326-325 B. C.. Alexander wrote that besides infantry Poros had war-chariots, cavalry and elephants, and he bore testimony to the extra-

ordinary intelligence of the elephant which carried Poros, for it knelt quickly and, extracted darts from the body of the wounded King.[1] The Bengalees fought on boats with their enemy (R.V.—IV—36). Streams were crossed by an advancing army by means of temporary bridges, formed with elephants standing side by side, as was done by Raghu, when he crossed the Kapiśā (R.V.—IV—33) and by Kusa when he crossed the Ganges on his way to Ayodhyā (R.V.—XVI—33). Soldiers were fond of wine (R.V. —IV—42, 65). When the enemy was subjugated it was said that the conqueror planted his left foot on the enemy's head (R.V.—VII—70). Skandagupta also used the expression—क्षितिपचरणपीठे स्थापितो वामपादः[2] (see also p. 126). Dissatisfied princes at a svayamvara ceremony generally waged war with the fortunate winner of the bride, as do the princes who fight with Aja, after their unsuccessful wooing of Indumati (R.V.—VII). The defeated King delivered to the conqueror jewels, chariots, artisans and girls (M.M.—V—9).

When Kings left their capitals, they were provided by the people with tents and various presents so that they might not be put to any inconvenience during their journey (R.V.—V–41).

Kings were fond of hunting not only for pleasure, but also because it was a healthy exercise and was calculated to reduce fat and to enable one to shoot

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1. Mc. Crindle's Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 308. (published by A. Constable & Co).
2. C. I.—13.

moving targets (R.V.-IX–49 ; A.S.-II-30). Dushmanta is accompanied by Yavanis (Greek or Persian women) who are armed with bows and arrows and decked with garlands of wild flowers (A.S.–II–1). Huntsmen tried to attract deer by means of songs (M.M.–III–151). Kindness was sometimes shown to the animals hunted (R.V.—IX—57, 58,67). Various kinds of deer, boars, wild buffaloes, rhinoceroses, tigers and lions were killed. Though they killed deer and other animals in the course of the chase, they were kind to horses and cows (R.V. I—54, II—1 &c.). Daśaratha rides a horse while hunting in the forest (R.V.—IX—76).

But they always took care that their hunting or progress might not disturb the peace of the hermitage (R.V.—I-37 and A.S.— I– 126). The sylvan abode of hermits was the centre of intellectual and spiritual culture and of peace and contentment. The hermitages of Vaśishtha, Kanva, Umâ, Vâlmiki and Māricha are described by the Poet with his inimitable skill. There were breezes redolent with śāla resin (the pine also exudes a fragrant gum—M.D.-II—46) and pollens of a thousand lotus and other flowers, peacocks with their beautiful feathers, unruffled gazelles with their large eyes, and plants loved as children by the wives and and daughters of sages and odorous smoke rising from sacrifices offered, and hymns chanted by pious hermits. The life of a hermit was an illustration of the noble principle of plain living and high thinking. His loin-cloth was made of bark, he subsisted on coarse nivâra rice and the fruits of the forest, and he used ingudi (probably Mahuā) oil and he lived in a

hut covered with leaves. But his speculaticns soared to the highest heavens and solved the most profound problems of human existence. Demons like Māricha and Suvāhu were the foes of hermits (R.V.—XI-26,27 A.S.—Act III—181 and 182) whom a good king should kill. Wild animals and sometimes country cattle (R.V.—V—9), storm and forest-fire (R.V.—V-6) did much harm to the hermitage. But its inmates were forbidden to kill any living creature. Ayus' killing of the vulture which has been carrying away Pururavâ's gem (V.V—V-51) and Sarvadamana's worrying of the lion-cub (A.S.-VII-74) are inconsistent with the peace and sacredness of the hermitâge. Dushmanta is dissuaded by Vaikhānasa from shooting a deer of the hermitage—आर्त्तत्राणाय ते शस्त्रं न प्रहर्त्तुमनागसि (A.S.-I—15)—'Your weapon is for protecting the distressed and not for striking the innocent.'

The Kings of Kâlidâsa were upholders of Varnās´rama, that is, they saw that the rights and duties of the four castes and four stages of human life were not in anyway interfered with. Raghu is described as the Guru or the guide or controller of Varnās´rama—R.V.—V.—19). Rāma is described as always 'awake' in his supervision of Varnās´rama (वर्णाश्रमावेक्षणजागरूकः—XIV—67, 85). Atithi is the protector of the Varnas and A´s´ramas (R.V.-XVII-65) In Dushmanta's realm even the worst member of a caste does not stray from the prescribed path (A.S.-V-37). Dushmanta's priest describes him as वर्णाश्रमाणां रक्षिता—the protector of varnas or castes and āsramas or prescribed stages of life (A.S.-V-42).

Though women could speak freely with men, yet only the Brāhmans, who acted as Kanchukis or Chamberlains, Vidushakas who were also Brāhmans, though of a low order (Brahmabandhu-M. M.-IV-162, and V.V-II-2), and men noted for their good character and conduct (K.S.-VII-73) had access to the inner apartments of the palace. Kanchukis generally were enfeebled by old age and compelled by poverty to earn their livelihood by carrying the errands not only of kings but also of queens, which they did not like (V.V.-III-15). Dushmanta's kanchuki is so old that he cannot remember things and steadies himself with a cane-stick (A.S.-V-104). The vision of Pururavā's kanchuki has been impaired by old age (V.V.—V—25). Kanchukis as distinguished from Vidushakas, who used Prākrit, were learned and conversed in Sanskrit.

Even the gardener in the royal zenana was a female like Udyāna-pālikā Madhukarikā (M.M.-V-1) Female attendants like Nipunikā and Vakulāvalikā were very clever and witty, as the three plays of Kālidāsa show. "The shrewdness of the heroine's confidantes never seems to fail them under the most trying circumstances; while their sly jokes and innuendoes, their love of fun, their girlish sympathy with the progress of the love-affair, their warm affection for their friend (or mistress) heighten the interest of the plot and contribute not a little to vary its monotony".[1] Nipunikā is versed in music (V.V.-II-3), Parabhritikā, Madhukarikā and Medhāvini, female

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1. M. W.

attendants, are asked to help Dushmanta in painting the portrait of S'akuntalâ (A.S—VI-19 and 46). A female warder like Sunandâ was acquainted with the deeds and genealogies of kings and was eloquent like a male (R.V.-VI-20). Sunandā indulges in a harmless jest with the Princess Indumati (R.V.-VI-82). Even in female apartments kings were shown their way by servants; for example, Pururavâ asks his Vidushaka to show him the way to the roof of the palace of gems तदादेशय मणिहर्म्यपृष्ठस्य मार्गम् (V.V.—III-22). Dushmanta asks the female warder Vetravati (lit. cane-holdress) to show him the way to the sacred-fire-chamber (A.S.-Act V-31). So Jayasenā shows Agnimitra the way to the room where the chief queen is bed-ridden with her bruised foot (M.M.— IV-33). At night the king was escorted in the zenana by female attendants who almost surrounded him with lamps in their hands (V.V.-Act III- 15). It cannot be said that the king was ignorant of the route. Either the pomp and circumstance of royalty demanded that the king should always be preceded by a servant or this was a salutary precaution against the attack of a hidden foe. This is supported by the statement of the kanchuki (A.S.—VI-37) to Dushmanta that the pleasure-grounds have been thoroughly examined (महाराज ! प्रत्यवेक्षिताः प्रमदवनभूमयः) ।

On the occasion of an interview with the King, a present had to be given. Sugriva, Vibhishana and others give Rāma presents, when they come to Ayodhyâ during the As'vamedha ceremony (R.V.—XV-58). Queens also received such presents. Samāhitikā presents Vijapura (limes or pomegranates) to Dhārini

(M.M.-III-4) and the Vidushaka pretends that he was bitten by a viper when be was gathering flowers for the chief queen (M.M.-IV-46).

Vidushakas, who were the constant companions of kings, were the butts of the pranks of maid-servants for their ugliness and want of commonsense and were sometimes beaten by them, after they had caught hold of the tufts of hair on their heads (A.S.-Act V.-22). The blunders of Pururavā's Vidushaka only serve 'to augment his difficulties and occasion many an awkward dilemma'. The Vidushaka of Agnimitra is the cleverest of all the members of his class. The jests of these court-fools, though generally stale and about sweetmeat—even the rising moon was a modaka to them (V.V.-III-26)—and other presents (V.V.-II-24, 164, 166 and III-50, 123), were sometimes witty. Sikharini, rasālâ, syrup, s´arkarā and parpati (V.V.-II-24 and III-50) were the different kinds of sweetmeat in those days. Dushmanta's Vidushaka does not like roasted meat (शूल्य-मांस—A.S.-II—1.) A few witticisms of these court-jesters are given below—When Aus´inari, the queen of Pururavā, solemnly gives permission to her husband to marry his sweetheart, the Vidushaka says (aside) that when a victim escapes from one whose hands are mutilated, the latter may well say—"Go; this act will increase my religious merit." (V.V.-III-96). When Dushmanta tells his Vidushaka that he has become enamoured of a girl of the hermitage, the latter remarks that as a man satiated with sweet delicacies (dates) longs for acid tamarind as a variety, so the king now longs for a rustic

maiden, though he has several beautiful queens at his palace (A.S.—II-50). Vidushakas acted as their master's private secretaries and were always faithful to them, as female attendants like Nipunikā and Vakulāvalikā were their mistresses' confidantes. They were not educated. Gautama confesses his ignorance. He tells Irāvati that if he were versed in Politics, he would not condescend to become the King's jester (M.M.-IV-184). The Vidushaka of Pururavâ does not aspire even after the joys of Paradise, because the people there having nothing to eat and drink simply look at things with fixed eyes like fishes (V.V.-III-123). Here is a reference to the belief that gods do neither wink nor shut their eyes. Vidushakas and Kanchukis, who were Brahmans, were given presents on the occasion of religious ceremonies, for example, Aus´inari's Priyaprasādana Vrata (V.V.-III-87 and 89).

Vaitālikas (bards and heralds), who were generally boys, sang the eulogies of kings and princes in the morning to wake them up and incidentally to remind them of their duties (R.V.-V-66 to 74), encouraged them when they were down-hearted (A.S.-V-8 to 10) and reminded them of their duties at prescribed times (M.M -II-46 ; V V.-II-13). Their Sanskrit verses, most of which breathe the spirit of true poetry, indicate their learning and culture. Generally two were present: one chanted his verses after the other. It appears that Vaitālikas, Kanchukis and even charioteers were versed in Sanskrit. The functions of Sutas (R.V.-V-65) and of Bandis (R.V.-IX—71 and XVII—15) seem to be similar to those of Vaitālikas. What Vaitālikas do on

the occasion of the investiture of A´yus (V.V.-V-133 and 134) is done by Bandis during the inauguration of Atithi (R.V.-XVII-15).

A good King had to be a hard worker.—अथवा कुतो विश्रामो लोकपालानाम् (A.S.-V-6). Even sorrow or distraction would not prevent a ruler like Dushmanta from attending to the work of administration (A.S.-VI-38). His day was divided into eight parts, each of which was equal to 3¾ dandas or ½ prahara or 1½ hours. He stopped work in the sixth part of the day, *i..e*, if the day began at 6 A.M., he would rest from 1-30 P.M. to 3 P.M. (V.V.-II-13). Dushmanta has to adjudge a complicated case of succession, even when he is overwhelmed with sorrow for his unwitting rejection of S'akuntalā (A.S.-VI-157). Ministers sent despatches to the King even when he was in the Zenānā (A.S.-VI-154.)

The administration of the Police Department was not at all satisfactory. As soon as the alleged offender was arrested, he was thrashed by policemen, by means of which they tried to extort confession. They were as impatient as their successors to establish the guilt of the accused and had to be kept in check by their superior officer. The Superintendent of Police asks one of the constables not to interrupt the fisherman accused of stealing Dushmanta's ring, but to allow him to proceed slowly (A.S.-Prelude to Act VI-6). Even when he was acquitted by the King, who tried criminal cases as well, and ordered by him to be rewarded, he had to give one-half of his reward to all the policemen for wine (A.S.-Prelude to Act VI-37) The King's brother-in-law (श्यालः) was generally the

Superintendent of Police (Ibid). But sometimes the King's brother-in-law, when he was really competent, was appointed to even higher posts. Virasena, Agnimitra's brother-in-law, is appointed to be the general of the forces, which are to operate against the King of Vidarbha whom he is able to conquer (M.V -I-44). Yajnasena, the King of Vidarbha, refers to the appointment of his brother-in-law as the Prime-Minister (M.V —I-43). As at present, the guilt of a thief was established when he was detected with the stolen property : so the Vidushaka tells Pururavâ when Urvas'i's letter falls into Aus'inari's hands (V.V.-II-161). When part of a thing was proved in a court of justice to belong to a person, the thief was made to restore the whole to the owner. So Pururavā asks the swans who seems to have stolen Urvas'i's gait to restore Urvas'i (V.V.—IV-51). Robbery was uncommon in those days. Only the *name* तस्करता or robbery exists in Dilipa's time (R.V.—I—27) and even the Wind does not dare stretch his hand to rob anything (VI—75). Merchants travel at ease over mountains, forests and rivers in the time of Atithi (R.V.-XVII-64). Fahien, the Chinese Traveller, bears testimony to the absence of robbery in the Gupta Empire. When robbery was proved, the criminal was impaled (A.S. Prelude to Act VI—30). A highway robbery is referred to in Mālavikāgnimitram in which the robbers wear disguises of peacock-feathers. Probably they are aborigines. For fear of robbers merchants travelled in caravans escorted by soldiers at least from Vidarbha to Vidis'ā. (M.M.—V—90).

Underground cells were used both as treasuries and prisons; and prisoners were fettered (M. M.—IV—20 and 22). Treasure-chests were sealed with shellac (M.M.—V—1). Similar seals and seal-dies are being exhibited in a showcase in the Sārnāth Museum.

Silence was enjoined as now by pressing a finger on one's lips, as Nandi does in the arbour of S'iva's yoga meditation. (K. S —III—41), Children prostrated themselves at the feet of their parents before setting out on a journey (R.V.—X.-4 and 7). Friends greeted each other by touching hands. So do Chitraratha and Pururavā (V. V.-I—72). The host accompanied his guest for three days during the latter's return-journey. The King of Vidarbha returns home after staying with Aja for three nights (R..V.-VII-33). So does Janaka with Das'aratha after Rāma's marriage (R.V.—XI—57). Kings and victors were welcomed on their return to the capital with ornamental gates, cleansed streets, music and fried paddy (R.V.—XIV—10 ; XV-38). When Dilipa returns home with his Queen after spending some time in Vas'ishtha's hermitage, the capital is adorned with raised flags (पुरमुत्पताकं) and he is greeted by the citizens with an address or song of welcome (पौरैरभिनन्द्यमानः—R. V.—II—74). On auspicious occasions, (for example when Raghu sets out on his memorable expedition—R. V.—IV—27) fried paddy was showered on the head by elderly women. Prisoners were released and capital sentences remitted on the accession of a king and on the birth of his son (R.V.-III-20 ; XVII-19). Even beasts of

burden were unyoked, the milking of cows was stopped and parrots were released on such occasions (R.V.-XVII-19 & 20).

Kings were noted for their regular performance of religious rites (V.V.-I-9 and A S.-II 1 and 103). They generally abdicated their thrones in their old age and retired to the forest and lived like ascetics and died by starvation or drowning (R.V -XII-20). Those who like Raghu died in the course of yoga meditation, were not cremated (R.V.-VIII-25). Water was poured on the ashes after cremation (K.S.-IV-37). Kumudvati, wife of Kuśa, burns herself on the funeral pyre on the demise of her husband (R.V.-XVII-6). That the rite of the Sati or a woman's burning herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband was a custom in the Poet's time is evident from the verse शशिना··· विचेतनैरपि' (K. S.-IV-33, see p. 223), where he says through Rati प्रमदाः पतिवर्त्मगा इति, i.e., women usually follow their husbands. It appears that the Poet did not approve of the practice, for he says (R.V.-VIII-72) that Aja abstains from burning himself on the funeral pyre of his beloved wife for fear of the stigma that even a learned man like him has been capable of committing suicide. Again in stanza 85 of the same canto we find the Poet suggesting through Vaśishtha's disciple to Aja that dying along with one's consort does not ensure their reunion in the next world, for departed souls take different paths according to their deeds.

Ideal kingship with its various virtues—truthfulness, generosity, impartial administration of justice,

piety, valour &c—is feelingly described by the Poet in the 6th, 7th and 8th verses of the first canto of Raghuvams'a (See p. 101). Dilipa is ready to become the victim of a lion for the protection of the cow entrusted to him. All the kings specially Raghu, Aja, Rāma and Atithi are famous for their filial devotion. The Poet warns princes against moral degradation through Agnivarna, whose premature death is brought about by his excessive sensual indulgence (R. V.=XIX) Here may be a reference to the moral deterioration of some of the scions of the Gupta Dynasty, which later on led to its decline. The sincere awe which kingship evoked is well described in the soliloquies of Ganadāsa and Haradatta, when they approach Agnimitrā for exhibiting their skill as teachers of singing and dancing. Ganadāsa says –

अहो दुरासदो राजमहिमा ! तथा हि –

न च न परिचितो न चापरम्यश्चकितमुपैमि तथापि पार्श्वमस्य ।

सलिलनिधिरिव प्रतिक्षणं मे भवति सएव नवनवोऽयमक्ष्णोः

(M. M.—I—68)

(How mysterious is Royalty.[1] This King is not a stranger to me ; he has also a charming personality. Still I am approaching him nervously. As the ocean changes from moment to moment, so the King appears to be new, whenever I see him).

It is just possible that Kālidāsa has been describing through Ganadāsa his own attitude towards Chandragupta II.

There was no child-marriage. S'akuntalā, Indumati and Mālavikā choose kings as their husbands,

when they have reached their age of discretion. There was no Pardā system. Yet the veil was used by brides (M. M.—V—144 and R. V.—XIII-8), and when women appeared in public—S'akuntalā wears a veil (A.S.—V-45) when she presents herself at her husband's court. But matrons like Sudakshinâ did not cover their heads (R.V.-I-42). Natural modesty would prevent even a married woman, who was the mother of a child, from going with her husband to her seniors, who were worthy of reverence. Dushmanta persuades S'akuntalā with difficulty to accompany him to Mâricha and Aditi (A. S.—VII-41.) Since the rites of hospitality were considered sacred, women appeared before strangers—as S'akuntalā, Priyamvadâ and Anasuyā do before Dushmanta—if they happened to be guests (A. S.—I). From the study of the works of the Poet it appears that the Zenana-system of later times was unknown in the time of Kālidāsa.

Men allowed their hair to grow long like women (R. V.—IX—51 ; XIX—31). Every boy had a tuft of long hair on his head. A prince would wear five s'ikhās or side-locks (R. V.-XI—1). Men wore शिरोवेष्टन (pāgri or head-covering—R. V.—VIII-12).

Both men and women were fond of ornaments. The Yaksha in the Meghaduta wears golden bracelets (1-2). So do Agnimitrā, Kus'a, Agnivarna and Dushmanta (M. M—II-35 ; R. V.—XVI-73, XIX—14 ; A. S. —VI-31). Aja has earrings (R.V.-V—65). Pururavâ wears necklaces (मणियष्टयः—V. V.—III—48). So does Kus'a (R. V—XVI-68). Atithi on the occasion of his installation wears round his brow a pearl-wreath in

which rubies (पद्मरागमणि) are set (R. V.—XVIII-22). ushmanta's ring has a gem inserted in it and his name engraved on it (A. S.—Preludeto Act VI—I and VI—72 and 78.) Princes wore brilliant golden rings (R.V.—VI—18). Princes and Princesses wore armlets (केयूर—R.V.—VII—50 ; XVI-56). The former had gold rings and crowns studded with glowing gems—किरीट R.V.—VI—18 and 19).

Females were fond of gold girdles strung with thread, in which sometimes gems were inserted (M. M.—III—160 ; K. S.—I—38, VII—61 ; R. V.—XVI —65). They had also pearl-girdles, pearl-necklaces, and pearl (or jewel)-earrings (R.S.—Rains—19 ; K. S.-I-42 ; R.V.—XVI—67, XIX-45). Urvas'i has an ekāvali or a string or pearls. (V.V.—I – 81). She also wears a sapphere set in pearls (V.V.-III-37) Ladies wore on their hair etc a net-work of pearls—(R.V.-IX—44 ; M.D.—II-35. Dharini has a ring, the jewel of which radiates light (M. M —I – II). Women wore nupuras or foot-ornaments, which produced a melodious sound (M. M,—III—10 and 11 ; R. V.—XVI-56 ; V. V.-III-108) The Yaksha's wife makes her peacock dance in the afternoon by tinkling her bracelets musically. Children are still lulled to sleep in a Bengali household by such a device (M. D.-II—18). Even trees are made to bestow ornaments and silk cloths on S'akuntalā (A. S.—IV—71). A kind of earring was called dantapatra (K. S.—VII—23). Poets fancied good pearls to exist in the two temporal bones (kumbhas) of elephants as they imagined the bright streak on the hood of a serpent to be its jewel (K.S.—

—I-6). There were spurious jewels with counterfeit colours which could be detected by jewellers (V.V.-II-173). Precious minerals were cut and polished after they had been dug out of quarries (R. V.—III—18). Females sometimes wore ornaments of flowers and sprays of trees (M. M.—III-125 and R. S.—Spring—5 &c). The pictures of some of the ornaments are to be found in the Prabâsi (Srâvana, 1334, pp. 551, 553 and 556).

The elaborate toilet of the bride is described in the seventh canto of Kumārasambhavam and of a married woman in the Fourth Act of Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam.

Both men and women were fond of flowers. Women inserted kururavas in their top-knots, kundas in their braids and kadambas where the hair was parted and wore s'irishas in their ears and used the pollen of the lodhra flower (probably also ketaki pollen,R.V.-XIII-16) as powder and also for removing oil from the body (M.D.—II-2 ; K.S.—VII-9). Flower-garlands were much appreciated (R.S.—Winter-15 ; Dewy Season-5 ; K.S.—VII-57 etc).

Hair combed into a single braid (एकवेणी) was the sign of mourning of the Yaksha's wife (M.D.—II—31), of S'akuntalā (A.S.—VII—116 and 117) etc.. When husbands were away, women tied their hair into a single braid (R.V.—XIV—12). The wet hair of both men and women was dried and rendered fragrant with the heat of burning incense (generally black aguru—R.S.—Winter-5; Dewy season—5, 12; K.S.-VII-14; M.D.-1-33, R.V.—XVII—22). They rendered their

cloths fragrant likewise (R.S.—Spring-13). Wax and gorochona were used by females as complexion-balms (K.S.—VII-17, 18). Face-powder (मुखचूर्ण) is also referred to in Raghuvams'am (IX-45). They painted their feet and lips (M.M.-III-30) with alaktaka or lākshā-rasa or liquid lac (R.S.-Summer-5; K.S.-VII-19, 58) and their eyes with collyrium by means of a s'alākā (a small brush—M.D.-II-34; K.S.-VII-59). After alaktaka had been applied, it was dried by means of blowing air on it with the mouth (M.M.-III-93). The foreheads of ladies were beautified with black spots (तिलक—M.M.-III -30) and their cheeks were ornamented with beautiful figures (विशेषक—ibid). Men also used complexion-balm (अङ्गराग R.V.-V-65). Barberry (दारुहरिद्रा or कालीयक) was used also as a complexion-balm (R.S.-Hemanta—5) Ladies dyed the ends of their hair with a dark-blue dye (ibid-15). The blue dye of the hair is also referred to in the fifth verse of the Ritusamhāra (Spring). Women dyed their lips red with alaktaka (M.M.-III-30) They used mirrors in their toilet (R.S.-Winter-13; K.S.-VII-22) in which they were helped by female servants or companions (K.S.-VII-58). Children's feet were dyed with alaktaka (R.V.-XVIII-41). Both men and women besmeared their body with sandalpaste (R.S.-Summer-6; R.V-XIX-45 etc) and painted beautiful figures on their hands and bodies with it, which was sometimes mixed with musk and sometimes with gorochana (a bile-like thing found in the cow's head) on a sandal-paste ground (K.S.-VIII-15; R.V-III—55, XVI-67, XVII-24). Females beautified their body and hair with saffron (R.S-Winter-2; R.V.-IV-54, XVI-66, XIX-25). They

wore rustling silk-cloths made fragrant with the sandalwood perfume and tinged with saffron (R.S. Spring-4; R.V.-XIX—41). Ladies tinged their clothes red with kusuma flowers (R.S.—Spring-4). Atithi wears during his investiture and Umā on the occasion of her marriage silk-cloths with the figures of swans (K.S.-V-67; R.V.—XVII-25). Silk-cloths were sometimes so fine that they were easily moved by one's breath (R.V.-XVI-42). The uttariya (scarf) of ladies was sometimes interwoven with jewels (R.V.-XVI-42). Cloths for bathing were generally coarser and less costly than पत्तोर्ण or silk or woollen cloths (M.M.-V-102). Nuns like Kaus´iki wore two काषाय (dyed) or गेरुया cloths, one of which served the purpose of an uttariya or a scarf (M.M-V-98). Ladies wore beautiful waistcoats कूर्पासक or काँचुलि and dyed silk-cloths (सरागकौषेय R.S.-Dewy Season-8). S´akuntalā wears one made of bark (A.S.-I-45 and 46). In addition to these females most probably wore a scarf (uttariya): S´akuntalā during her separation from her husband wears two pieces of cloth (A.S.-VII-117).

There were portrait-galleries in which females took considerable interest. Besides singing and dancing—Malavikā is expert in these—ladies knew to play on the flute (वेणु) and lute (वीणा), the latter being placed on their chests (R.V.—XIX—35). Hamsapadikā sings a soul-enthralling song like Mālavikā, though the latter does so in the accompaniment of her clever dancing (A.-S.—V—17 and M.M.—II—13). In the Meghaduta the wife of the Yaksha is a skilful musician, the lute being her favourite instrument. She

composes songs in which her husband's name is cleverly introduced. Moreover, she is a skilful painter (M.D.—II-24, 25). Painting was an accomplishment possessed by both men and women alike. Dushmanta is a skilful painter (A.S.—VI). Agnimitra, Pururavas and the Yaksha seem to have been versed in this art, Even some of the female attendants of Dushmanta's household are clever painters. They say that they have been sent by Mitrāvasu (the King's brother-in-law) to the royal pleasure-garden for painting (A.S.—VI—19—see also p. 456). Ladies like Mālavikā and Irāvati (M. M.—I-32) had singing and dancing masters, who like Ganadāsa and Haradatta taught their pupils both the theory (शास्त्र) and practice (प्रयोग:) (M. M.—I.-74). In addition to the music of the lute and flute, that of the mridanga, muraja or pākhwāj was much appreciated (R. V.—XVI—13, 14 ; M. D—II—1). Music, singing and dancing were esteemed by all sections of the society.

Plays were enacted before the courts of kings on the occasions of marriages, spring-festivals, &c. by expert actors and actresses (K. S.—VII—91 ; M.M.—Prelude). Females acted the parts of women in dramas, as Urvaśi does that of Lakshmi and Menakā that of Vāruni in the drama called Lakshmi-Svayamvarā (V.V.—III—6). The Nati (female dancer and actor) is mentioned in the Prelude to Abhijnāna-Śākuntalam.Dramatic exhibitions including singing and dancing are said to be esteemed even by gods (M. M.—I-28). So long as the learned are not pleased, actors should not think that they have acted their

parts well (A.S.—Prelude).

Educated men and women spoke Sanskrit. The king and ministers, the hermit, the general, the kanchuki, the herald, the charioteer, the stage-manager or sutradhâra, the actors (nata and pâripārs´vika) and dancing-masters like Ganadāsa and Haradatta used Sanskrit. Sometimes a disciple who had not made much progress in his studies would converse in Prākrit like the second disciple of Bharata A. S.—Prelude to Act III). On the other hand the Vidushaka, the gate-keeper, the King's brother in-law, who is the chief police-officer, the constable, the fisherman, the child and women generally spoke Prākrit. But the boy A'yus converses in Sanskrit. Those who used Prākrit could, however, understand Sanskrit talking. Priyamvadā can get even a Sanskrit s´loka by heart (A. S.—IV-50).

Females like Kaus´iki were highly educated and spoke Sanskrit. The Vidushaka gives her the epithet Panditā (M. M.-V—18). She is not only a learned but also a tactful lady. Her advice is sought even by the king and his chief queen. She is a good critic of singing and dancing. She remarks that the science or theory of singing, dancing and acting depends mainly on its application or practice (प्रयोगप्रधानं हि नाट्यशास्त्रम् (M. M.—I.—99). She says regarding Mâlavikā's dancing that her gestures and postures are highly expressive, that the movements of her feet are harmonious and that the sentiment she wants to convey engrosses her completely (M. M.—II-23). She is also acquainted with the art of medicine. When

the Vidushaka pretends that he has been bitten by a viper, she says that cure can be effected by the cutting-off of the part bitten, its cauterisation or its bleeding (M. M.—IV—49 ; see also R. V.—I-28). Her theory of education should be borne in mind by all teachers—

शिष्टा क्रिया कस्यचिदात्मसंस्था,
संक्रान्तिरन्यस्य विशेषयुक्ता,
यस्योभयं साधु स शिक्षकाणां
धुरि प्रतिष्ठापयितव्य एव ॥—M.M.-I-112.

(There are some teachers, who though highly learned themselves are incapable of imparting their knowledge to their pupils. There are others again, who (though not very learned) are highly efficient in communicating their learning to their pupils. But he who possesses great learning and capacity for instruction is to be placed in the forefront of teachers).

The inmates of the royal zenana were not allowed to idle their time away. They had to learn various arts for which experts were brought from other states. Two such girls whose forte is music are sent to Agnimitra as presents hy the defeated King of Vidarbha (M. M.—V—48 and 59). Anasuyā is versed iu Itihāsa or the branch of learning dealing with the instructive stories of the past (A. S.—III—27). Umā is properly educated, though the knowledge she acquired in her previous births has helped her a good deal in her present life (K.S.—I-30). Sakuntalâ and Urvasi write love-letters (A. S.—III—64 and V. V.-II-92.).

Wives like the chief queens of Dushmanta and

Agnimitra reminded their husbands of their kingly duties (M. M.—IV-73 and A. S.—VI-153). The advice of ladies was sought by the heads of families in household matters. Kanva consults Gautami regarding S'akuntalā's conduct at her husband's house (A. S. —IV-126). The wife was always consulted by the husband in the matter of their daughter's marriage (K. S.—VI—85).

Marriages were celebrated on auspicious occasions when the planets and stars would be most favourable (K.S.—VII—1). The day of [marriage was fixed by the bridegroom's guardians (K.S.—VI—93). The marriage-procession was formed in the afternoon (K.S.—VII—63), but the marriage was celebrated at night (K.S.—VII—85). The principal streets of a town were decorated with gilt or rainbow-coloured gates, wreaths of flowers and numerous flags which intercepted the. rays of the sun (R.V.—VII—4). Flowers were showered on the bridegroom in the streets ankledeep (K.S.—VII—55). Fried paddy was thrown on the bridegroom by ladies (K.S.—VII—69). Marriage was celebrated as at present in the bride's house, which was attended by the parties of both the bridegroom and the bride (K.S.—VII—53). The bridegroom's party made the first proposal (K.S,—I —52—and VI—1). Ladies like Arundhati were regarded as experts in marriage-negotiations— प्रायेणैवंविधे कार्यें पुरन्ध्रीणां प्रगल्भता (Generally in such matters matrons show great cleverness—K.S.—VI —32).

Though there was no objection to having more

vives than one, yet the bride and her relations lways desired that she alone should enjoy the love of er husband. Arundhati consoles Menakā, who has een anticipating with sorrow her separation from ıer beloved daughter on the occasion of her marriage vith S'iva, by saying that her daughter will marry S'iva who is अनन्यपूर्व or one who has not given his ove to any other woman (K.S.—VI—92). When Umā on the eve of her marriage prostrates herself before the citizens' chaste wives, who are her seniors, they pronounce on her the blessing that she will obtain the अखण्डितप्रेम or the undivided love of her husband (K.S. —VII—27 and 28).

On the day of her marriage Umā, who wears a silk cloth and holds the durvā grass and an arrow in her hand, is bathed on a piece of stone in a four-cornered room (made with four plantain-trees in Bengal—K.S.-VII—6, 7 etc.). She is helped in her toilet by women whose husbands and sons are alive (7). After her bath the bride wears a new white cloth and takes a mirror (in Bengal the collyrium-holder) in her hand. The auspicious thread is tied round the lower part of her left hand, and her elaborate toilet is then finished (K.S.—VII—13 to 26). Fire kindled with clarified butter, s'ami leaves etc, has always been the witness of a Hindu marriage (K.S.—VII—83, R.V.—VII—20). round which the married pair move thrice (K.S.—VII —80). The Dhruva star or the Pole-star—in Bengal this is still the practice—is looked at by the bride-groom and the bride (K.S.—VII—85). The married pair are blessed with wet sundried rice आर्द्र अक्षत—in

Bengal with paddy and durvā grass—(K.S.—VII —88).

When girls reached marriageable age, their freedom of movement was reasonably curtailed. When S´akuntalâ leaves for Hastināpura, her playmates Anasuyā and Priyamvadā are not allowed to accompany her beyond a certain distance (A.S.—IV—130). The matrons of a town or village took considerable interest in every marriage-celebration (K.S.—VII—2). Presents were given to the bridegroom by the guardian of the bride according to his capacity (K.S.—VII—72; R.V.-VII-32). The portraits of brides were utilised in marriage-negotiations by female messengers (Duti or Ghataki)—R V.—XVIII—53. The bride's guardian received the bridegroom with due pomp, when the latter arrived at the outskirts of the town (K.S.—VII —52; R.V.—V—61).

The stems of As´oka and other trees were surrounded with raised earth (भित्तिवेदिका—M.M—V—1) in order to prevent water from flowing out. This careful tending of plants was called their सत्कारविधि (ibid). As´oka trees (specially the red variety) were touched with the left foot by beautiful women dressed in their best in order that they might blossom, This was the *dohada* (a ceremony for making trees bear flower and fruit) of the trees (M.M.—III—125; M.D. —II—17). As´oka was prized by women probably for its efficacy in female diseases and also because it was supposed, as its name implies, to remove all sorrow. This is also referred to in the expression दोहदछद्मना वामपादाभिलाषी in the Meghadutam (II—17) and in

Raghuvams'am (VIII—62 and 63). The Vakula tree was supposed to flower, when women spat wine on it (R.V.—IX—30; M.D.—II—17). The mango-tree was playfully married by women with various creepers e.g., Priyangu (R.V.—VIII—61), Mādhavi (A.S.—IV—106 ; M.M.—IV—138), Navamālikā (A.S.-I—55) &c. Trees and flowers were the special objects of the affection of the women of the Poet's time. The attachment of Umā, S'akuntalā and Sitā to plants is most ardent. The wife of the Yaksha has adopted a young Mandāra tree as her son कृतकतनय (M.D.—II—14.). There were pleasure-gardens in suburbs (R. V.—XIV—30).

Like the marriage-ceremony in Kumārasambhava royal installation is described in detail in Raghuvams'a (XVII—8 to 17). A new pavilion (विमान) supported on four pillars with a raised tapis (वेदि) is erected by artisans. Trumpets are blown. Brāhmans headed by the family-priest pour with appropriate mantras (holy texts) sacred water on the head of the prince who is seated on the vedi and whose praises are sung by panegyrists. On the conclusion of the ceremony he gives large sums of money to the priests who bless him. Prisoners are released, capital punishment remitted, beasts of burden unyoked and cows are not milked. The Prince is dressed by his valets after he has taken his seat on an ivory stool. His forehead is painted with a tilaka-mark (R.V.-XVIII-44). After his hair has been dried with the heat of incense and he has put on beautiful and precious ornaments, he goes to the court and takes his seat on the throne of his ancestors, when the white umbrella is raised

over his head. Prayers are offered at all the temples of the capital for the prosperity and happiness of the new king.

Respect for seniors and kind treatment of servants were always enjoined, as by Kanva to S'akuntalâ (A. S.—IV—126). Women were as curious as they are at present. They left even their toilet incomplete to see marriage-processions (K.S.—VII—56 etc., and R.V.—VII—5 etc.,). Preceptors were implicitly obeyed. S'ârngarava, S'âradvata and Kautsa are noted for their obedience to their gurus. Hospitality was regarded as an important virtue (A.S.—I—74 and 78). Charity to Brāhmans was practised on an extensive scale by kings. Raghu's charity to Kautsa and also on the occasion of his Vis'vajit sacrifice has become proverbial. Presents were freely given when a child was born (R.V.—III—16) or when a good news, for example, of a victory was communicated (M.M.—V—133 and 134). The story of Raghu, Varatantu and Kautsa in the fifth canto of the Raghuvams'am is instructive. It may be the description of an ideal condition of things. Still the high standard presented gives some clue to the actual state of affairs. Kautsa wants to pay some fees for his tution to his prceptor Varatantu, who replies that his pupil's obedient service has been to him more than substantial fees. But on Kautsa's insistence, the preceptor becomes irritated and says that fourteen crores of gold coins are his fees for his teaching him fourteen branches of learning. Kautsa now comes to Raghu, who has been rendered penniless by his excessive charities on the occasion of his Vis'vajit

sacrifice and who after making enquiries about the well-being of the hermitage, asks Kautsa if he can be of any service to him. When Kautsa being urged names the enormous sum, Raghu does not want to send him away empty-handed, but manages to obtain enough money from Kuvera which he proffers to Kautsa who, however, takes only the amount of his preceptor's fees. The hospitality, reverence for learning and for Brāhmans (specially hermits) and extensive charity of Raghu and the unflinching devotion to and profound regard for his preceptor and want of greed of Kautsa have been inculcated effectively by this story. But in order to remove the want of a Brāhman, Raghu is on the point of extorting the necessary amount from the god of riches. Here may be a reference to the exaction of money by Gupta kings from rich men similar to the forced loans or *benevolences* to which English kings from Henry III to Charles II downwards resorted to recuperate their coffers.

Many foreign nations were known– the Persians the Huns, the Kambhojas and the Chinese. The Huns were the White Huns. Their white skin is referred to in Raghuvams'am (see p.110), where the Poet describes the war of the rose and lily on the cheeks of their women. Ams'uka or silk was imported from China (K.S.—VII—3 and A.S.—I-132). Spices like cloves were imported from Spice Islands (R.V.—VI—57). Good horses were brought from Kambhoja and Persia (वनायु-देश) and were given salt to lick in the morning (R.V.—IV—70 and V—73). Even now horses are given salt for licking. Greek (probably both Greek and Persian)

women acted as the king's body-guard. They were expert in handling bows and arrows and wore flower-garlands (A.S.—II-1 ; V.V.—V—13). Trade, commerce and agriculture were encouraged and mines,elephant-forests and arable lands and bridges were regarded as important sources of royal wealth (R.V.—XVI—2; XVII—66). Kālidāsa blames Das´aratha, because he wants to kill a wild elephant (R.V.—IX—74, also V—50). One-sixth of the produce was paid to the king as revenue (R.V.—II—66, XVII—65 and A.S.—V—6). Even hermits had to throw one-sixth of unchha paddy on the banks of rivers as the king's dues (R.V—V—8). It appears that both inland and maritime trade contributed to the wealth and prosperity of the Gupta Empire. Caravans with articles of trade proceeded regularly from Berar to Bhilsa (M. M.—V—83). Maritime trade is referred to in वारिपथजीवी धनबृद्धिनाम वणिकः — a very rich merchant named Dhanavriddhi who died childless (A.S.—VI—157). The Poet probably refers to river-trade in R.V.—XVII—64. He also mentions the profusion of commodities in the markets of Ayodhyā (R.V.—XIV—30 and XVI—41).

Figure-making like painting (see p. 436) was not neglected. Rāma caused a golden image of Sitā to be made and placed always before him (R.V.—XV—61). Children were fond of the moving clay-figures of peacocks (A.S.—VII—64 and 98). Boys and girls played with kandukas or balls which were thrown upwards (R.V.—XVI-83). and dolls (K.S.—I-29) and toy-lotuses (M.D.—II-2 ; R.V.—VI—13 ; K.S.—VI—84). Both men and women were fond of swings.

(R.V.—IX—46 ; XIX—4 ; M.M.—III-19). There were other mechanical devices like the revolving artificial fountain (भ्रान्तिमद्वारियन्त्रम्) flinging out continually sprays of water (M.M.—II-46). Houses of rich men were furnished with machines throwing out cool water-sprays (यन्त्रप्रवाहशिशिरपरीतधारागृहं)—R.V —XVI—49. Rooms were cooled by means of artificial springs —विचित्रं जलयन्त्रमन्दिरम् (R.S.—Summer—2). There is a reference to यन्त्रधारागृहत्वम्—a similar device—in Meghadutam (I-62). There were painted wooden statues of females on columns (R.V.—XVI—17). The chariot and palanquin as conveyances were esteemed by the royalty मनुष्यवाह्यं चतुरस्त्रयानं (R.V.—VI-10) and कर्णीरथः (R.V.—XIV-13). But humbler mortals travelled on foot, as S'akuntalā and her companions do, when she goes to meet her husband. "The châmara or chowrie, the white bushy tail of the Tibet cow, fixed on a gold or ornamented shaft, rose from between the ears of the horses......the banner or banneret with the device of the chief rose at the back of the car ; sometimes several little triangular flags were mounted on its sides[1] (V—V.–I, beginning)." Versified eulogies were embroidered in various attractive colours on cloths (A.S.—VII—12). The curtain or tirashkarini was used as a protection from public gaze (K.S.—I—14) and was also hung in front of the nepathya or green-room (M.M.—II-7). Das'aratha spends several nights in new and beautiful tents (R. V.—XI-93). So does also Rāma on his return home after exile (R.V.—XIII-79). Precious minerals were

1. H. H. Wilson.

pierced with the vajra, probably a diamond-needle (R.V.—I-4), and were cut and polished (R.V.—III-18). Manahsilā or red arsenic was dug out of rocks by means of a stone-cutting instrument called tanka (R. V.—XII-80). The birch-bark served the purpose of paper (K.S.—I-7 and and V.V.—II-95). Horses and camels were used as beasts of burden (R.V.—V.-32). Exhausted horses were cooled by bathing their backs with water (A.S.—I-36). Jingling bells were attached to the necks of bulls and elephants (K.S.—VII-49 and R.V.—VII-41). The quality of gold was determined by testing it on a touchstone (R.V.—XVII-46) and also in fire (R.V.—I-10). There were boxes (मञ्जूषा) for storing ornaments (M.M.—IV—107and V—133). Umbrellas were common (A.S.—V-7). The white umbrella was an emblem of royalty (R.V.—III-70). Spotless mirrors were available (A.S.—VII-162). Mirrors with gold frames were used in palaces (R.V. —XVIII-26). A fruit called kataka (nirmali)was used for cleansing muddy water—पङ्कच्छिदः फलस्येव निकषेणाविलं पयः (M.M.—II—20). A kind of hard plaster, called वज्रलेप was used as a cement (V.V.—III—114). Cane-seats were provided for respected persons (K.S. —VI-50). Seats were also made of ivory. (R.V.— XVII-21). Disciples carried the seats (a tiger's skin or a black buck's skin) of their preceptors (V.V.—III —beginning). Good āsanas (seats) of deerskin were available in the North-Western Provinces (R.V.—IV-65). Marble seats (मणिशिलापट्टक—V.V.—II-49). were used in hot weather. Frying pans were used in preparing eatables in the market (विपणिकन्दु—M.M.—

II-56). Boats plied continually on the Ganges and the Sarayu (R.V.—XVI-34, 57, 59), the latter at least having a flight of stone or brick-built steps (R.V.—XVI-56). Every throne had a foot-stool (पादपीठ) near it (K.S. III-11), which was sometimes made of gold (R.V.—XVIII—41). A raised dais (मञ्चम्) with a flight of steps and with seats on it and covered with beautifully-coloured carpets (आस्तरण) was erected on the occasion of Svayamvaras (R.V.—VI-3 and 4).

Paddy was transplanted in Lower Bengal,[1] which was intersected by numerous rivers (R.V.—IV-36) and was full of cane-plants and palm-trees. Betel-plants grew abundantly on the sea coast. Wine was made from cocoanut-palms. Sandalwood and cardamom were to be found in Southern India and pearls in the Palk Strait. There were expert divers (R.V.—XVI—75). Flowers and birds were plentiful in the the region of the Vindhyas. Hamsas, they said, could easily separate milk from water with which it was mixed (A.S.—VI-219). Saffron, akshota and grapes were available in the Northern Punjab (R.V.—IV-65, 67, 69) and musk could be had from muskdeer on the Himālayas (K.S.—I-54 ; R.V.—IV-74). Sandal trees were supposed to be infested with serpents, specially during heat (R.V.—IV-48 ; X—42, XI—64, XII—32 ; A.S.—VII-74). Elephants were available in the forests of Assam (R.V.—IV.—83). Figures were

1. It should be remembered that the transplantation of paddy is not peculiar to Bengal, This has also been a long-standing practice in the United Provinces with regard to certain varieties of paddy.

painted on elephants (M.D.—I-19). Tamed elephants were bathed regularly (R.V.—I.-71). The elephant was regarded as an important source of royal revenue (R.V.—XVI-2, 66). Megasthenes also says "Elephants are caught in great numbers by the Indians and are trained for war and are of great moment in turning the scale of victory".[1] Kālidāsa frequently refers to the fragrant temporal juice (मद्) of the animal (R.V.—XVII-70 ; V.V.—IV-37 and 38). So says also Megasthenes, "(Spring) is the season when the male (elephant) is in heat and becomes ferocious. At this time he discharges a fatty substance through an orifice near the temples. It is also the season for females, when the corresponding passage opens."[2] The fondness of our Poet for elephants is evident from numerous references to this animal in his works. The wild elephant sometimes caused much mischief (A.S.—I-125 and 127). He mentions also the Ulkāmukhi S'rigāla, corresponding according to the compiler of Vis'vakosha to the Bengali Khyanks'iyāli (Vulpes Bengalensis) which sends out flashes of light when it grinds with its teeth crabs and shells (R.V.—XVI-12). The Poet frequently refers to oshadhi or herbs emitting rays of phosphorescent light and dispelling the darkness of the night (K.S.-I.-2, 10 ; R.V.—IV-75).

Love of nature and lower animals—mountains, rivers, lakes, tanks full of lotuses and lilies, mango-blossoms, numerous flowers, creepers and birds (specially peacocks) pervaded all sections of the society.

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1. M. A. I.—p. 30.
2. Ibid—p. 92.

Even kanchukis, vidushakas and female attendants could appreciate Nature's beauty (A.S.—IV and Prelude to Act VI ; and M.M.—III). Vegetable and animal life was regarded as sacred in the hermitage (R.V.—V—6, 7 and A.S). Śakuntalā, Umā and the wife of Yaksha tend plants as if they are their children (A.S.—IV ; K.S.—V-14 ; M.D.—II-14). Similar is the treatment accorded by Śakuntalā and Umā to deer (ibid). Almost divine honour was bestowed on the cow (see the story of Nandini R.V.—I and II).

They believed in the existence of evil spirits which, Dushmanta's Kanchuki feared, persecuted the king's jester in the garret (A.S.—VI—203). The throbbing of the right eye was regarded as ominous and that of the left as auspicious by females, while the shaking of the right hand foreboded good to males (M.M.—V—33; V.V.—III—34 ; A.S.—I—37, V.—40, VII—49 ; R.V.—XIV—49, R.V—XII—90). Magical charms like rings and armlets were regarded as a protection against evil influence (A.S.—VII—104). Pururavā pretends that he has been searching मन्तपत्तं (charm-paper—V.V.—II—162). People had much faith in astrological predictions. Mālavikā's identity is not disclosed, because a certain saintly astrologer has predicted that in order to be wedded to a worthy bridegroom she has to serve as a maidservant for a year (M.M.—V—106). A particular kind of ring was used as a cure for snake-bite (M.M.— I—10). Sacrificial water शान्तुप्रदकं was regarded as efficacious in the cure of ailments (A.S.—III—171). Medicines cannot be properly administered unless the disease has been

accurately diagnosed—Sanskritised Prākrit—विकारं खलु परमार्थतः अज्ञात्वा अनारम्भः प्रतिकारस्य (A.S.—III—17). Medicines were not given *gratis* to the poor by doctors (M.M.—II—12). Doctors enjoined fixed times for taking meals (M.M.—II—47). The powdered roots of Us´ira (a kind of grass) and lotus-plants were used for sunstroke (A.S.—III—16 and 21). Solution of sugar-candy in water was supposed to remove the effects of intoxication (M.M.—III—32). Red-sandal-paste was used for bruises (M.M.—IV—28). Cold was regarded as efficacious in bruises—शीतक्रिया चास्यारुजः प्रशस्ता (M.M.—IV—74). Stimulants were administered in typhoid fever (R.V.—II—48). Hermits used ingudi oil for curing sores—व्रणविरोपणमिङ्गुदीनां तैलं (A.S—IV—113). Aromatic and bitter ingredients were mixed with emetics to ward off the injurious effects of the latter (M.D.—I—20 and Mallinātha's commentary). The snake-bite treatment has already been referred to (see p. 438). The Vidushaka's coming to the king and chief queen with his finger tied with the sacred thread (M.M.—IV-43) shows that the tying of the part of the body above that bitten by a viper was known in those days. Dhruvasiddhi is a specialist in snake-bites, (M.M.—IV-50). There were special doctors for treating pregnant women and children (R.V.—III-12). Women were fond of tasting baked clay when they were with child (R.V.—III—3). The desires of females during their pregnancy were scrupulously fulfilled (R.V.—III—5 and 6).

Royalty and aristocracy had pleasure-gardens and pleasure-tanks with flights of steps (R.V.—XVI-15,

46) and samudra-grihas or artificial isles and also artificial hills made resonant by the cries of peacocks (R.V.—XIX-37, XVI-26, M. D.—II-16) and bowers of Mâdhavi creepers, the floors of which were paved with bejewelled stoneslabs (A.S.—VI-50). There were beautiful parks in a city like Ayodhyā, which were the resorts of gallants (R.V.—XVI -19). Palaces had several stories, the uppermost of which was furnished with a pigeon-cote (A.S.—VI—203; M.D.—I-39) and was used also as a watch-tower (दिगवलोकनप्रासादः). King Pururavā's palace is several stories high, has steps decorated with crystals and jewels and is designated maniharma or jewel-house (V.V.—III-17). Houses were surrounded by compound-walls (शालः—R.V.—XVI—11). Sometimes a canopy gave shade to the topmost roof (R.V.—XIX—39). The mansions of the rich were lofty, had painted walls and were adorned with pictures and were variegated with jewels. Roofs were decorated with crystals which reflected the stars (M.D.—II—1, 5). Sometimes the pictures on the walls were of elephants which had entered lotus-beds and were presented with lotus-stalks by female elephants (R.V.—XVI—16). Dancing peacocks with their expanded rainbow-coloured plumes on gilt and bejewelled perches (वासयष्टि) placed on crystal plates, and speaking parrots were to be found in such houses (M.D.—II—3, 18, 24; R.V—V—74, XVI—14). A tank with a set of green stone-steps, full of lotuses and swans, adjoined usually the homestead of a wealthy man (M.D.—II—15; K.S.—II—233, 44, IV—6; R.V.—I—43, IX—37, XI—12, XVI—46 etc). The Vidushaka

of Agnimitra refers to a crystal or glass-pillar (स्फटिक स्तम्भ) behind which he hides himself (M.M.—IV—137). There were dehalis (देहली—M.D.—II—26) or shelves beneath door-arches on which things were kept. The gateway or torana was variegated with the colours of the rainbow (M.D.—II—14).

Those who have seen the richly-carved gateways or toranas of the great stupa at Sānchi can easily realise the excellence which architecture could attain in 150 A.D., at least two centuries before the Golden Age of Indian History as Rai Bahadur Sahni characterises the Gupta Period. He quotes Sir John Marshall's remarks on this period. "The Gupta Age marked a re-awakening, a true 'Renaissance' of the Indian intellect, and the new intellectualism was reflected in architecture and the formative arts as much as in other spheres of knowledge and thought. Indeed it is precisely in their intellectual qualities—in their logical thought and logical beauty—that the architecture and sculpture of the Gupta age stand pre-eminent in the history of Indian art, and that they remind us in many respects of the creations of Greece 800 years earlier or of Italy a thousand years later." The Rai-Bahadur adds, "The Gupta kings were all followers of Brāhmanical Hindu faith and naturally their best efforts were directed towards the regeneration of the early Brāhmanical institutions, such as the As'vamedha sacrifice, the revival of the Sanskrit language and literature and the endowment of Brāhmanical religious establishments. Some of the most noteworthy foundations of this period are the brick-temples

at Bhitargāon and other places in the Cawnpore District, the Vaishnava pillar and a colossal statue of the Boar-incarnation at Eran, the Garuda standard erected by Skandagupta at Kahaon in the Gorakhpur District, the beautiful Gupta temple at Deogarh and the last not the least, the celebrated iron-pillar at Old Delhi. The Gupta kings were, however, no narrow-minded sectarians. Samudragupta[1], who took much delight in the society of learned men, showed favour to Vasubandhu, the famous Buddhist author. and we possess Fa-Hian's reliable testimony to show that during the Gupta rule the Buddhists enjoyed perfect freedom of worship and full liberty to endow their sacred places. The sculptures excavated at Sārnath include at least three Buddha images which in the inscriptions engraved on them are des cribed as having been installed in the years 154 (473 A.D.) and 157 (A.D. 476) of the Gupta Era in the reigns of Kumâra-gupta (II) and Budhagupta."[2]

There are the remains of a temple built in the Gupta Age on the hill at Sānchi. There must have been similar temples of Chandiś́vara at Ujjayini—the present temple being of a much later date, but built probably on the old foundation and of Skanda at Devagiri, described in the Meghaduta. Regarding the Sānchi temple Sir John Marshall says, "Another structure, which cannot fail to recall the classic temple of Greece, and particularly the Temple of Wingless

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1. He also allowed the Buddhists of Ceylon to found a monastery at Gayâ (See p.100).

2. Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sârnâth (4th. ed)—pp. 10-11.

Victory on the Akropolis at Athens, is the little shrine a few paces to the east. It is a very unpretentious building, consisting of nothing more than a simple flat-roofed chamber with a pillared porch in front, but despite its modest size and despite the absence of that refinement and clear definition which are the key-notes of Athenian architecture, we cannot but perceive that it is permeated with essentially the the same elements of logical thought and logical beauty as the earlier architecture in the west. The inherent characteristics of Greek buildings are their architectural propriety,their symmetry and proportion, the appreciation which they show of plain surfaces and the restraint in their ornament; and here, in the heart of Central India, we are confronted by all these same characteristics in a Buddhist building of the 4th. century A.D., and we ask ourselves involuntarily—what is the meaning of this strange similarity, and did India borrow these ideas from Greece? The answer to these questions is that in the age of the Gupta kings to which this temple belongs, Indian art was certainly borrowing some of its ideas and motives from the west; but it is not to such borrowings or to any superficial imitation that classical traits in this building are due. The cause lies deeper and is to be sought in the fact that the Gupta age was the age of India's 'Renaissance' : it was the period when the thought and genius of the people awakened to new powers and when there was an outburst of mental activity which has never since been repeated. India at this time was under-going just the same experience

that Greece had undergone eight centuries earlier and Italy underwent a thousand years later; and it is in no way remarkable therefore that her art like her thought found expression in the same intellectuality, in the same purposefulness and in the same logical definition as the arts of Greece and Italy. This little shrine, in fact, reflects in its every stone the mentality and temperament of the people and of the epoch which produced it—an epoch which was essentially creative and not imitative; and if we take the trouble to compare it with the gateways (ornamental toranas) for example...... we shall find in their different characters an eloquent index to the change which came over Indian culture during the first four centuries of the Christian era." [1]

Mr. Havell is of opinion that there were two classes of medieval temples—sikhar or spire-crowned and flat-roofed. The former were the temples of Vishnu and the latter of Śiva. [2]

Painted rooms may have been referred to in सचित्राः of Kālidāsa's Meghaduta and also in Vatsabhatti's निविष्टचित्रकर्म्माणि (see p.p.40-41). Mr. Havell writes—"Apart from temple architecture the art of the Gupta period is illustrated by some of the earlier halls and chapels of the splendid abbey of Ajantā, one of the great universities of the time. The fragments of the wonderful frescoes still remaining on the walls are not only masterpieces of painting, but, both in their vivid imagination and in their realistic portrayal of con-

1. The Monuments of Sânchi dy Sir John Marshall p.p. 33-34.
2. Aryaṇ rule in India by E.B. Havell p. 183.

temporary life, they give a striking impression of the masterful creative impulses which were then stirring the mind of India. In this respect they fully confirm the evidence of contemporary Sanskrit literature and Fa Hian's graphic description of Indian life.

"The most beautiful, the most impressive work is said......to be the magnificent fresco from Ajantā of the glorified Buddha returning with his beggar's bowl to his wife and child after his 'illumination'. It has been described as perhaps the noblest existing example of the art of the Gupta period, the classic age of all Indian culture...... The art of the East and the West represents life from two wholly different points of view, for while the artist of the west is an objective realist, the Eastern artist is a subjective idealist...... The vital characteristic of pure art is the expression of thought and not merely the expression of form...... 'It is difficult' says Havell to argue with those who are so steeped in western academic prejudices as to treat all Hindu art as puerile and detestable, because it has chosen the most simple and obvious forms of symbolism, such as a third eye to denote spiritual consciousness—or multiplicity of arms to denote the universal attributes of divinity.'" [1]

"As records of the religious thought of the (Gupta) period they show clearly that the Buddha then, and probably long before that time, was not only recognized by Brāhman theology as one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu, but actually worshipped as such by the

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1. The key to Indian art by N. H.—The Calcutta Statesman of July 17, 1927.

Buddhists themselves, though their iconic symbolism and terminology were adapted to their own physical tenets. In the noble fresco at (Ajantā) of the marriage of Prince Siddhārtha, which decorates the front of the shrine in the first monastic hall—one of a series which are within or very near to the Gupta period—the Bodhisattva is represented holding Vishnu's blue lotus-flower, and the two divine lovers, S'iva and Pārvati, watch the ceremony with benevolent interest from the heights of mount Kailāsa. Mahāyāna Buddhism is here shown to be one of the sectarian phases of the great Vaishnava movement of which all the Gupta Emperors from Chandragupta to Bālāditya were the zealous patrons. The S'aiva sculptures of Elephanta, which belong to the same artistic school, though perhaps of a somewhat later period, reveal another sectarian phase of the same movement." [1] Here the marriage of S'iva and Pārvati resembles that of Vishnu and Lakshmi, and the head of Vishnu in the Trimurti sculpture that of the Bodhisattva in the Ajantā frescoes "Thus," continues Mr. Havell, "the sculptors and painters. of the Gupta age have left to posterity a record of the synthesis of Indian thought...... The psychology of Indian history can never be understood by treating Brāhmanism, Buddhism and Jainism as water-tight compartments, wholly independent of each other...... nor is it possible in this way to understand the tolerance shown by one sect towards another." [2]

Royal installation (R.V.—XVII), marriage (K.S.

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1. Havell's Aryan Rule in India p.p. 183—84.
2. Ibid—p.p.—184—85.

—VII), and other ceremonies were celebrated with proper religious rites. They were performed at times fixed with great care. The disciple of Kanva watches the last hours of the night for the auspicious juncture (A.S.—IV—32). Sacrifices like the As´vamedha were performed with due pomp. Animal sacrifices were revived with the accession of the Guptas to imperial sovereignty (R.V.—XVI—39). Kālidāsa makes Dilipa celebrate ninetynine As´vamedhas, Raghu Vis´vajit and Das´aratha, Rāma and Atithi As´vamedha sacrifices. In several inscriptions Samudragupta is lauded for his reviving the As´vamedha sacrifice. One of the gold medals struck by Samudragupta to celebrate the event with a representation of the horse and the sacrificial altar is in the British Museum ; and the carved stone-horse with the name of the king engraved on its neck in the Lucknow Museum is believed to be the memorial of the sacrifice. Sacrifices were offered on the banks of rivers (R.V.—XVI—21,35) The central part of the altar (वेदी) was narrower than the two ends. (K S.—I—39).

Pilgrimage was encouraged. During Kanva's absence on a pilgrimage for averting an evil which might befall S'akuntalā, Dushmanta married her. Brāhmans and specially ascetics were highly respected and religious austerities including those enjoined by Yoga Phiosophy greatly esteemed. S´udras were not however allowed to practise the religious rites and austerities of the Brāhmans (R.V.—XV—51). Even kings retired to the forest in their old age and devoted themselves to religious contemplation. The s´rāddha of a

Kshatriya was performed on the expiry of ten days after his death (R.V.—VIII—73). It was a high praise for a king like Dushmanta according to S´ârngarava and the priest that he made every varna or caste conform to its prescribed duties and every individual observe the rules of the four A´s´ramas, Brahmacharyya Gârhastya, Vânaprastha and Bhaikshya in the four periods of his life (A.S.—V—37, 42). S´ita after her banishment asks Lakshmana to tell Râma that the duty of a king as prescribed by Manu is to regulate the four varnas and four âs´ramas (R.V.—XIV—67). So Râmachandra after banishing S´itâ devotes the whole of his attention to the supervision of Varnâsrama (R.V.—XIV—85).

From the works of Kâlidâsa it appears that beauty pleasure and conformity to Brâhmanical rites and customs were regarded as the highest ends of human existence in his age. Though self-control was exhorted, it was not practised by the majority and was confined to the hermitage. Dushmanta, the ideal monarch, is carried away by the impulse of the moment and wants to make S´akuntalâ his wife, though her guardian is absent and though he has many queens. But conformity to the externals of religion and social decorum —his regarding S´akuntalâ as another's wife–prevents him from accepting her as a queen, when she presents herself before him at Hastinâpura, though he is ravished by her beauty.

Things which contribute to the pleasures of the senses and articles of luxury were abundant in this age—good roads and bridges, comfortable and beauti-

ful lofty lime-washed houses with charming female figures on columns, contrivances for cooling rooms with cold sprays in summer, chairs with cane-seats, gilt mirrors, fine clothes, and ornaments made of gold and jewels, umbrellas, swings, gardens adorned with various flowers, tanks full of lotuses, music, painting dramatic representation, sandal-paste, musk and other incenses, horses, elephants and chariots as conveyances, toothsome delicacies and other luxuries of townlife. Drinking of wine was not discouraged. Even a queen like Irâvati would intoxicate herself with wine. Sexual morality among townsmen was not of a high order. The Poet introduces sensual imagery even when it is not at all necessary, (*e.g.* R.V.—XI—52). Wanton women were not rare. Girls roamed at night in search of lovers, as male gallants did for their sweet-hearts. The Poet refers to the employment of prostitutes as dancers in the temple of Mahākâla in his Meghaduta and in the palace of Dilipa on the birth of his son in the Raghuvams´am. Though much of the sensuality of some passages of Kâlidāsa's works may be attributed to the literary convention of the age which required polished writers to follow the Kāmas´âstra of Vatsâyana in their portraiture of the sensuous aspects of Man and Nature, yet it appears that inspite of strict injunctions regarding chastity and of the warnings of the evil consequences of sensual indulgence (R.V.—XVIII—14, XIX—48 and 49) sensuality was not much discouraged in the society of the rich and fashionable.

Diplomacy including the employment of spies or in short the art of politics is described in detail in the

seventeenth canto of the Raghuvams'am. Conclusion of peace with the enemy, bribing them, sowing dissension among them, and waging war with them were the four politic means of the sovereign.

Refinement of manners was an important characteristic of this age and was noticeable specially in the king. Agnimitra, Dushmanta and Pururavas do not lose their temper even under great provocation.

The bustle of townlife in the long run palled on a noble and sensitive mind and made it long for the peace and happiness of the hermitage. It is we believe not Sārngarava but the Poet who speaks through him when he says to his friend S'āradvata—जनाकीर्णं मन्ये हुतवहपरीतं गृहमिव (A.S.—V—37) (This populous town Hastināpura and this palace of Dushmanta appear to me to be a house surrounded by fire).

Though immersed in worldly pleasures and overwhelmed by the temptations of the senses and listening to the cuckoo's counsel—न पुनरेति गतं चतुरं वयः (Enjoy yourself, for youth once gone shall not return—(R.V.—IX—47), the soul did not die,—it was alive and realised at lucid intervals the harmfulness of the fondness for the chase, gambling, wine-drinking and sexual indulgence (R.V.—IX—7) and became awake to its noble calling, *viz.*, living the life of the spirit—the highest end of human life. This is the lesson taught in the Kumārasambhavam by S'iva's not being attainable by the charms of Umâ, and by sensual allurements as symbolised by Kāma, Rati and Vasanta, but by Umās austerities. This moral is also inculcated by the retirement of the sovereigns of the Raghu Dynasty

from the world and their living the life of ascetics in in their old age, and by Kanva's suggesting to Sakuntalā that she and her husband should come back to the hermitage in their old age, for the attainment of salvation (A.S.—IV-141) and even by Pururavā's decision to live the life of a hermit, if Urvas'i has to go back to Paradise (V.V.—V—102).

Kāldāsa, the champion of Brāhmanism, does not mention explicitly either Buddha or his religion in his works. We know, however, that Buddhism, though in in a state of decline in his time, was still not a negligible factor. Mr. Cowell in his introduction to his Buddha-charita says, "We can prove that Kālidāsa was not insensible to Buddhist influences, for in the twelfth book of the Raghuvams'a (S'loka 21), we have a remarkable trace of Buddhism in the description of Rāma's journey in the forest—'He every now and then fell asleep on S'itā's lap, resting under a tree whose shadow was motionless through his divine power'. This well-known miracle of Buddha's childhood does not occur in As'vaghosha, but it is given in the Lalita-Vistara (Ch. XI)". The verse referred to is—

प्रभावस्तम्भितच्छायमाश्रितः स वनस्पतिम्,
कदाचिदङ्के सीतायाः शिशेप किञ्चिदिवश्रमात्।

(একদা তরুর তলে রাম রঘুবর
ঈষৎ শ্রমেতে যেন করিলা শয়ন,
রাখি শির প্রেয়সীর অঙ্কের উপর,
অচলা করিয়া ছায়া প্রভাবে আপন) N. D.

Though Kālidāsa alludes to Mathurā and Vrindāvana and mentions the taking of the jewel by the King of

S'urasena from the head of Kāliyanāga of the river Yamunâ and even uses the name Krishna as a synonym of Vishnu and refers to the dancing peacocks near the hill Govardhana (R. V.—I—49 to 51), yet he is silent about the legends of the amours of Krishna with which these are at present associated. This is significant. It may however be said that the Poet does not do so for avoiding anachronism. He has been dealing with the incidents of the Tretā Yuga and not with those of the Dvāpara Yuga in which Krishna flourished. Still if the places had become as famous as they were later on for their association with Krishna and Râdhā and other Gopinis, means would not have been wanting to this master of the literary art for mentioning them. We know that the legend of the war between Krishna and Kamsa is very old (see p. 303). The Poet himself refers in the song of the second herald to the story of Krishna's taking away his future wife Rukmini by force (M. M.—Act V = 14). Further there is a reference to Krishna in the line वर्हेणेव स्फुरितरूचिना गोपवेशस्य विष्णोः (M.D.—I-15 ;—as the dark body of Vishnu or Krishna, who has put on the dress of a cowherd, looks bright and beautiful with the variegated peacock-feathers on his head, so the dark cloud looks when it is fringed with the magnificent colours of the rainbow).

The amours of S'iva and Pārvati described in the eighth canto of Kumârasambhavam imply on the one hand the interaction of Prakriti and Purusha[1] (K. S.—

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1. Of course this is not strictly the Sâmkhya doctrine in which "Purusha" means individual souls.'

II—7 and 13) or Nature and the Universal Soul and on the other hand of Jivātmā and Paramātmā or the individual and Universal souls, which preluded the Rādhākr̥shna cult of a later age.

Though Kālikādevi looking like a blue cloud and having human skulls as ornaments is mentioned as following the sixteen Mātrikâs in the marriage-procession of S'iva (K.S.—VII—39) and though the Poet's name signifies that he is 'a devoted servant of Kāli,' yet the worship of the goddess is not referred to in his works. It appears that Kāli-worship became popular in a later age, when the Tantras were composed.

The gods generally worshipped were S'iva, Vishnu Brahmā, Pārvati, Lakshmi, Kârtikeya, Indra, Varuna, Sun and Moon. Pururavā, Apsarās and sages are sun-worshippers. (V.V.-I-1 and IV-4; K.S.-VIII-41). Pururavā prays also to and his queen worships the Moon (V.V.—III—27 and 84). Some of the gods like S'iva, Pārvati, Kārtikeya and Kuvera were supposed to have their abodes on the Himālayas. Though respect was paid to all gods, yet there was one god, who was one's Ishtadevatā, the god most cherished, as Mahes'vara or S'iva was of our Poet. Learned men like him could realise that though different men worship different Ishtadevatās, all worship leads to the same goal. So though S'iva was the Poet's Ishtadevatā, he was regarded as one of the three aspects of the Supreme Being and not superior to either Brahmā or Vishnu—the three being really one. So there is intrinsic similarity between his hymns to S'iva at the beginning of several of his works and in the sixth canto of Kumārasambhava (15 to 24) and those

addressed to Brahmâ (K.S.—II—4 to 15) and to Vishnu (R.V.—X—15 to 32). No hymn to the Great God surpasses in its religious ardour and elevation the invocation of the lesser gods to Vishnu for the suppression of Râvana, the incarnation of the sin and misery of the world, of which we give only a few extracts, though the whole is worth study—

नमो विश्वसृजे पूर्व्वं विश्वं तदनु बिभ्रते ।
अथ विश्वस्य संहर्त्रे तुभ्यं त्रेधा स्थितात्मने ॥

... ...

सर्व्वज्ञस्त्वमविज्ञातः सर्व्वयोनिस्त्वमात्मभूः ।
सर्व्वप्रभुरनीशस्त्वमेकस्त्वं सर्व्वरूपभाक् ॥

... ...

अजस्य गृह्णतो जन्म निरीहस्य हतद्विषः ।
स्वपतो जागरूकस्य याथार्थ्यं वेद कस्तव ॥

... ...

बहुधाप्यागमैर्भिन्नाः पन्थानः सिद्धिहेतवः ।
त्वय्येव निपतन्त्योघा जाह्नवीया इवार्णवे ॥
त्वय्यावेशितचित्तानां त्वत्समर्पितकर्म्मणाम् ।
गतिस्त्वं वीतरागाणामभूयः सन्निवृत्तये ॥

... ...

उदधेरिव रत्नानि तेजांसीव विवस्वतः ।
स्तुतिभ्यो व्यतिरिच्यन्ते दूराणि चरितानि ते ॥
अनवाप्तमवाप्तव्यं न ते किञ्चन विद्यते ।
लोकानुग्रह एवैको हेतुस्ते जन्मकर्म्मणोः ॥
महिमानं यदुत्कीर्त्त्य तव संह्रियते वचः ।
श्रमेण तदशक्त्या वा न गुणानामियत्तया ॥

(R.V.—X—16, 20, 24, 26, 27, 30-32).

(সৃজন করিয়া বিশ্ব করিছ পালন ;
তমোগুণে পুনঃ প্রভু করিছ সংহার ;
সৃষ্টি, স্থিতি, প্রলয়ের অখণ্ড কারণ,
ত্রিগুণে অসীম তোমা করি নমস্কার।

...   .

সর্ব্বজ্ঞানময় তুমি, অজ্ঞাত সবার,
বিশ্বের ঈশ্বর, প্রভু অনীশ আপনি ,
এক হ'য়ে সর্ব্বরূপ স্বরূপ তোমার,
তুমি হে জগতযোনি, স্বয়ম্ভু অযোনি।

...   .

অবতার-রূপে, অজ, জনম তোমার,
নিরীহ হইয়া অরি করিছ সংহার,
যোগে নিমগন, তবু সদা জাগরিত,
কে জানে তোমার তত্ত্ব জ্ঞানের অতীত ?

...   .

জাহ্নবীর শত শত প্রবাহ যেমতি,
ভিন্ন পথে বহি শেষে পশে পারাবার,
নানা শাস্ত্রে নানারূপ সাধন-পদ্ধতি
আসে তথা ভিন্ন পথে চরণে তোমার।

বিষয়-বিরাগ-মতি যেই যতিগণ
যোগবলে নিজ চিত্ত নিবেশি তোমায়,
সর্ব্বকর্ম্ম তবপ্রতি করে সমর্পণ,
মোক্ষগতি পায় তারা তোমারি কৃপায়।

...   .

বাক্য-মন-অগোচর চরিত তোমার,
কার সাধ্য স্তুতি-বাক্যে করিবে প্রচার ?
কে বর্ণিবে কত জ্যোতিঃ ধরেন ভাস্কর,
কে জানে কতই রত্ন ধরে রত্নাকর ?
কি আছে অলব্ধ কিম্বা অপ্রাপ্য তোমার ?
নিত্য পরিপূর্ণ, প্রভু বিশ্বের আধার ,
জনম করম তব করিছ গ্রহণ
কেবল লোকের হিত করিতে সাধন।
অসীম মহিমা তব করিতে কীর্ত্তন,
অক্ষম গায়ক, ক্লান্ত হয় শ্রমভরে ;
ফুরায় সঙ্গীত-স্রোত, না চলে বচন,
অনন্ত তোমার গুণ কে বর্ণিতে পারে ?)---N. D. .

(Hail they cried
Threefold yet One, who first didst all things frame,
Upholdest now and wilt at last destroy !

... ...

... ... All unknown,
All-knowing ; womb of all things, sprung from none;
Supreme, Thou know'st no ruler; one yet manifold !

... ...

... ... Unborn, yet taking flesh ;
Not seeking triumph, thou dost smite thy foes;
Thou sleep'st, yet watchest ever : who can tell
Thy being's truth ?

... ...

... ... The ways of Bliss,
Diversely shown and taught, all lead to Thee,
As Gangā's parted streams seek ocean's breast.

Who fix their hearts on Thee, and trust to thee,
All working, free from lust,—these find in Thee
That happy way which none need travel more.
Yet as Ocean far
Outshines the gems he hides as o'er his rays
The sun shines glorious, so Thy greatness, Lord,
Transcends our halting praise! Nor want hast thou
Nor aught allures thee. Birth thou tak'st and Toil,
That through the worlds salvation may be wrought!
Here cease we from Thy praise, exhausted weak;
Thou art exhaustless, boundless spreads Thy might!)
—P.D.L.J.

Conclusion.

"Where find a Soul that does not thrill
In Ka'lida'sa's verse to meet
The smooth, inevitable lines
Like blossom-clusters, honey-sweet?"[1]

Two things are necessary for the production of a genuine artistic masterpiece—genius and favourable surroundings, the absence of either of which proves a serious handicap. The age of Pericles in Athens, that of Augustus in Italy, that of Elizabeth in England and that of the Guptas in Northern India, were beyond doubt congenial environments, on account of the accession of wealth, of glory incident to territorial or colonial expansion and famous victories, of preparedness of material (in the present case of language), of readiness of patronage and above all, of a new relish for life. In India as in England, there was an additional and a potent factor in the shape of religion. The relentless persecution of the Protestants by Mary in England, and the suppression of several important sacrifices like As'vamedha by the Buddhist sovereigns in India, though not capable of destroying either Protestantism or Brāhmanism, were yet effective in checking their zealous manifestation. With the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth in

1 T. K. R—p. XVII. see also p. 36.

England and with the ascendancy of the Gupta Emperors and their subjection of non-Hindu potentates in Northern India, the new Protestantism in one case and the new Brāhmanism in the other permeated more or less all the strata of society, and writers rose as champions of the creed which had obtained a fresh lease of vigorous life. Kālidāsa's works bear indubitable testimony to the fact that they were composed during the ascendancy of Varnās'ramadharma and of its royal patrons, and at a time when Sciences and Arts, Philosophy and Literature had attained a high degree of development and when the people wanted to make the most of their material resources.

We have so long proceeded on the assumption that Kālidāsa was born about 385 A.D., that he in accordance with the poetic convention of his time composed the lyric Ritusamhāra in the region of the Vindhyas[1], when he was, say, eighteen years old, that

1. Malwa, Kashmir and Bengal have been contending with one another for the honour of being regarded as the birth-place of Kâlidâsa. Recently Professor L. D. Kalla of St, Stephen's College, Delhi, has fixed upon Mâyâgram in Kâshmir as the place of his birth. His inference is based chiefly on—(1) The Pratyabhijnâna Philosophy of Kâshmir, which he finds in almost all the works of the Poet. The Professor even believes that Abhijnâna-S akuntalam is an allegory of this system of Philosophy. Dushmanta according to him is S'iva (God) and S'akuntalâ his S'akti (Energy). The individual soul or jiva, within which Siva limits himself, forgets temporarily his S'akti and cannot recognise her without the aid of some potent means. So Duhsmanta forgets Sakuntalâ for the time being and recollects her by means of the signet-ring and becomes reunited with her. (2) कुम्भोदरं नाम निकुम्भमित्रं (R. V.—II-35)-in connexion

he presented himself at the court of Chandrgupta II surnamed Vikramāditya (380—415) about 405, when he was in his twentieth year, that he remained on the best of terms with him till the end of his reign and that he finished under his auspices his Mālavikāgnimitram, began his epic Kumârasambhavam, and his drama Vikramorvas'i, both of which show the unrestrained love and ardour of a youthful temperament in the closing years of his reign. Kumārasambhavam or the epic dealing with the birth of the Kumāra or the Kārtikeya, the god of war and the ally of Mahendra, refers to the birth of Chandragupta II's son Kumāragupta I (415—455) who was styled Mahendrāditya. Chandragupta II is introduced in the Raghuvams'am in the persons of Raghu and the Emperor of Magadha, Kumaragupta in those of Aja, the king of Avanti and Kus'a, and his son Skandagupta in that of Atithi. Vikramorvas'i has two meanings—(1) the nymph Urvas'i won from the demon Kes'i by the vikrama or valour of the king Pururavas and (2) the love between the king Vikrama (abbreviation of Vikra-

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with the illusion created by Surabhi's daughter to test Dilipa's devotion refers according to the Professor to the Kâshmiran legend of Nikumbha, a powerful and righteous Pis'âcha. (3) The Apsarastirthâ (A.S.—VII—159), the Saptarshitirtha (K.S.—I—16), the Brâhmam Saras (R.V.—XIII-60), the Somatirtha (A.S.—I—74), the Vasishthâs'rama (R.V.—I and II) and several other sacred places have been identified by him as situated in Kâshmir. Kas'yapa is said to be the founder of Kashmir and his A'srama (A.S.—VII) naturally is located by the Professor in this province.

It is just possible that the Poet become acquainted with those places and even with the legends and the philosophical doctrine

māditya) and the nymph Urvaśī. The fifth act of Vikramorvaśī which describes the inauguration of Áyus as Yuvarâja or heir-apparent distinctly refers to a similar ceremony, which must have been performed during the latter part of the reign of Chandragupta II. The first Vaitālika or herald says that Áyus who is called kumāra or prince is the worthy son of Pururavas (Chandragupta II surnamed Vikramāditya) noted for his vikrama or valour, as Pururavas is of Budha (Samudragupta), and as Budha is of Chandra or Moon (Chandragupta I). Then Nārada says that Pururavā's selection of his son as his heir-apparent reminds him of the investiture by Indra of Kumâra or Kārtikeya as the general of the celestial army. Dr. Keith says that the introduction of Áyus has spoiled the beauty of the last act of Vikramorvaśī.[1] Kālidāsa has done it deliberately to honour his patron Kumāragupta. Similarly the Poet describes in detail the coronation of Skandagupta under the semblance of the installation of Atithi after his father Kumāragupta's death (R.V.-XVII-8 to 37).

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in the course of his pilgrimage. His birthplace does not much matter, as the Professor says, "His (Kâlidâsa's) literary career began and ended outside Kâshmir...........Kâlidâsa left his home in Kâshmir for good by sheer necessity or spirit of enterprise and won his fame outside Kâshmir." But we cannot agree with the Professor when he says that "all his (the Poet's) learning was derived from Kâshmir". Does the Professor want to suggest that one's knowledge is solely or mainly derived from the books one reads during one's student-life ? (See also Chapter IV).

1. "The incident of the boy Áyus is forced and the ending of the of the drama ineffective and flat"—S. D., p. 156.

That gratitude was one of the Poet's eminent characteristics is proved by his sincere affection and regard for his patron Chandragupta II. Even after his death, the Poet bestows on him some of the finest verses ever composed by him—असौ शरण्यः......पुष्पपुराङ्गनानाम् (see p. 85). The first epithet with which the Poet introduces his Imperial Patron is 'असौ शरण्यः शरणोन्मुखानां'—'the (great) Refuge of all seeking protection'. We see the poor and helpless Bard, who has written his Ritusamhāra according to the convention of the age, present himself as a suppliant at the brilliant court of Chandragupta at Ujjayini with verses made specially in his honour ; and we behold also the gracious Emperor receive with ardent cordiality and promise of life-long patronage the hitherto-neglected Poet, whose verses, composed later on under the auspices of him and his successors, would contribute more than their achievements recorded in brick and stone to their immortality.

Kālidāsa continued as a court-poet during the whole of the reign of Kumāragupta and finished Kumārasambhavam up to its eighth canto, the remaining portion of Vikramorvas'ī and his touching lyric Meghadutam and began his celebrated epic, Raghuvams'am and his best drama Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam, both the works of his mature genius.

Skandagupta (455—470) the conqueror of the Pushyamitras and the repeller of the Huns, who was also surnamed Vikramāditya and Kramāditya, accorded to the old Poet, whose fame had spread over the whole of his empire, the same respect and favour

as had been done by his father and grandfather, the glory of whose courts had been enhanced by his genius. The Poet finished his S'akuntalā, which was enacted before the court of the second Vikramāditya as is borne out by the introduction of the famous play (see pp. 3 and 326).

The Poet realised that with his advancing years his powers were declining and so he finished his Raghuvams'am and Kumārasambhavam in hot haste. The reason why he at first wrote only the first eight cantos of the latter and did not finish it, might be that he himself was disgusted with its prolixity or adverse criticism, or more probably because he wanted to begin his more important works. It is also probable that he employed for its completion on account of his illness, which terminated in his death, another poet who worked under his supervision. Though the last nine cantos of Kumârasambhava evince inferior workmanship, still they form an essential part of the epic poem, since they deal with the birth of the Kumâra and his succesful war with demon Târaka, the enemy of Indra, for which the war-god has been born. The fact that Raghuvams'am ends abruptly with the death of the licentious King Agnivarna of the Raghu line renders probable the supposition that the Poet had been overtaken by a fatal illness, before he could finish his epic master-piece. He died about 460 A.D. in his seventyfifth year, as there is no reference in his works to any memorable event after that date. The desire most cherished by the great Poet in the last years of his life has been expressed

in the last verse of his Abhijnāna—S'akuntalam—प्रवर्त्ततां.......... आत्मभूः (see p. 363). "Let kings strive for their subjects' well-being, let the cultured be the patrons of learning, and let the Almighty Self-existent S'iva by preventing my rebirth enable me to attain salvation." It appears that the Poet now settled comfortably in life like Shakespeare after his return to Stratford simply desired that his works might be welcomed by the learned and that the Great God might help him in the attainment of emancipation—the highest end of human existence. But the concluding lines of Vikramorvas'i composed much earlier like the twentyninth verse of the sixth canto of Raghuvams'am refer to the inherent antagonism between learning and wealth and indicate that Kālidāsa felt for sometime at least the keenness of poverty, though it might be the "source of human art and great inspirer of the poet's song".[1]

Mr. Ryder thus concludes his sketch of the Poet's character—"His nature was one of singular balance, equally at home in a splendid court and on a lonely mountain, with men of high and of low degree. Such men are never fully appreciated during life. They continue to grow after they are dead".[2]

That his fame was firmly established by A.D. 473 is proved by Vatsabhatti's inscription of that date; and that it began to grow with the passing of time is established by the Ayhole inscription of 634 A.D.,

1. E. Moore.
2. T. K. R.—p. XIII.

by Bānabhatta's eulogy on him in his life of Harsha-vardhana (pp. 36 and 470) and by other testimonies.

The different readings of several passages of his works and the different recensions of Meghadutam, Vikramorvas′i and Abhijnâna-S′akuntalam prove their revision by the Poet during his life-time and also their interpolation after his death. The four principal recensions (Bengali, Devanāgri, Kāshmiri and South Indian) of S′akuntalâ are due according to Dr. Keith to the great popularity of the play[1].

It is very difficult to determine from his works all the details of his life, but regarding some of them we are almost certain. That the centre of his activities was Ujjayini or some place near it, and that he was one of the ornaments of the court of Chandragupta II, surnamed Vikramāditya, who established it at Ujjayini after his conquest of Mālwā and Surāshtra, are evident from his Ritusamhāra, Meghaduta and other works. His works also establish the fact that he was well-versed in the Rāmāyana, Mahâbhārata and Purânas and the extant Kāvyas and Nātakas, for example, those of As′vaghosha and Bhāsa and in Grammars and treatises on Rhetoric and Prosody. He knew very well Vātsāyana's Kāmasutras. It is difficult to say anything definitely about his moral character from the erotic passages in his works, because we do not know to what extent they may be attributed to the rules laid down in this treatise and the poetic custom of his time. The remarks of Mr. Saintsbury on Shakespeare's character may be applied

1. S. D.—p. 154.

to Kālidāsa with some qualification, "The ugly and artistically unmanageable situation of the husband who trades in his wife's honour simply does not occur in all the wide licence and variety of Shakespeare's forty plays. He is in his own sense liberal as the most easy-going demand, *but he never mixes vice and virtue*"[1].

Kālidāsa's knowledge of Indian Geography displayed in the description of the Himālayas in his Kumārasambhavam, of Central India and the Himālayas in his Meghadutam, and of almost the whole of India in connexion with his narration of Rāma's return to his capital from Ceylon and of Raghu's conquests in his Raghuvams´am excites our admiration. It is probable that it was due to his extensive travels for his pilgrimage to sacred places in course of which he was able to observe accurately man and nature, and also to the accounts given to him by the soldiers, who accompanied Samudragupta and Chandragupta II in their famous expeditions. He was familiar with the three capitals of the Gupta Emperors—Ujjayini, Sāketa or Ayodhyā and Kusumapura or Pātaliputra situated on the junction of the Ganges and the boisterous S´ona (R. V.—VII—36). He was well-acquainted besides the towns of Mālwā such as Vidisā (Bhilsā) and Das´apura (Mandasor), with Prayāga (R.V.-XIII-58), the capital of Anga (Bhagalpur—R.V.—VI—27), Māhishmati (Māndhātā) on the Narmadā (R.V.—VI—43), S´urasena or Mathurā, Vrindāvana (R.V.—VI

1. Elizabethan Literature by Saintsbury, p. 167.

—45 to 51), the capital of Kalinga (R.V.—VI—53 to 57), Uragapura (the capital of the Pāndyas—Trichinopoly—Uraiyur—R-V.—VI—59) and Gokarna (R.V.—VIII—33) on the sea near Goa celebrated for the temple of Mahes'vara. But he is silent in his works about one of the most important and ancient cities of Northern India—namely Kās'i or Bārānasi. "At the beginning of the historical period, the kingdom of Kās'i lost its independence and was annexed by Kos'alā"[1]. "Its capital later on became the scene of Buddha's earliest public preaching and one of the most sacred spots in Buddhist church-history"[2] It has acquired the name of Vārānasi because it stands on the junction of the Varunā and Asi with the Ganges. In the seventh century A.D. Sankarāchāryya made it the centre of S'aiva religion. When H. Sang visited the place sometime after, he found here both Hinduism and Buddhism claiming a large number of adherents. Kālidāsa's silence regarding Benares is to be ascribed to the same reason which led him to omit Sānchi, though he mentions Vidisā situated very close to it (See p. 159). He, however, mentions Queen Aus'inari as Kās'irājaduhitā or the daughter of the king of Kās'i (V.V.—II—2).

The Poet's extensive travels and his life at the courts of emperors acquainted him with what would add to the comforts of life. The house of an aristocrat according to him should resemble in the main those at Alakā, the capital of the God of Wealth. It should have several stories with mosaic floors, painted walls

1 and 2—E, H. I—p. 31.

and a variegated torana or gateway. In summer the rooms should be cooled by artificial fountains and some of the rooms should be surrounded by water. A tank full of lotuses with steps of coloured stone should adjoin it. In the compound of the house there should be a pleasure-hill surrounded by plantain-trees and an arbour certaining among others the red Áśoka, Vakula, Sahakâra, Mâdhavi, Kuruvaka and other flower-plants. Tame dancing peacocks, speaking parrots, pictures, crystals hanging from the ceiling cloth, music and beautiful inmates should add to the amenities of the mansion (M.D.—II—1 to 20, see also p.p. 460—1).

It would be strange if a genius like Kālidāsa would not assimilate during his prolonged residence at Ujjayini something of Astronomy and Astrology for which the city had been famous from the earliest times. He knew that Day and Night succeed each each other in accordance with the rotation of the Earth round its axis (passing through the Poles)—**मेरोरुपान्तेष्विव वर्त्तमान-मनयोनयसंसक्तमहस्त्रियामम्** (K.S.—VII—79); that the Moon when joined by the brilliant and beautiful star Chitrā (Spica Virginis) on Chaitra Purnimā at the end of the Winter and at the approach of Spring looks beautiful—**हिमनिर्मुक्तयोर्योगे चित्राचन्द्रमसोरिव** (R.V.—I—46); and that the heat of the Sun decreases when it proceeds south after the summer solstice (about the 22nd June)—**दिशि मन्दायते तेजो दक्षिणस्यां रवेरपि** (R.V.—IV—49). Dakshināyana or the Sun's apparent progress towards the south is also referred to in R.V.-VIII-33. He knew that heat and consequently evaporation begin to increase, when the Sun proceeds north after the winter solstice (about the 22nd

December)—ततः प्रतस्थे कौबेरीं भास्वान्......उस्रैः..... उदीच्यान् रसान् उद्धरिष्यन् (R.V.—IV-66) ; that the months of Chaitra and Vais'ākha (from the middle of March to that of May—Spring) being introduced by the (apparent) motion of the Sun, look beautiful—रेजतुर्गतिवशात् प्रवर्त्तिनौ भास्करस्य मधुमाधवाविव (R.V.—XI—7); that the brilliance of the Moon increases and that of the Sun decreases at the time of pārvana (Opposition) at evening—दिनात्यये पार्वणौ शशिदिवाकराविव (R.V.—XI—82); that the Sun proceeds south in the course of his residence in the signs of the zodiac corresponding to the rainy season, after the Summer Solstice—दक्षिणां दिशमृक्षेषु वार्षिकेष्विव भास्करः (R.V.—XII—25) ; that the ice of the Himālayas thaws, when the Sun leaving the side of the Equator, which is marked by or associated with Agastya (Canopus)—अगस्त्यचिह्नादयनात् (R.V.—XVI—44.—or from the point of the Ecliptic which is furthest south from the Equator)—proceeds northwards after the Winter Solstice ; that when the star Agastya (Canopus) rises (in Autumn, on the 17th or 18th of Bhādra), turbid water becomes clear—तस्याविलाम्भः परिशुद्धिहेतोर्भौमीमुनेः (R.V.-XIII—36) ; that the king should set out on expeditions when the star Agastya rises (at the beginning of Autumn) and turbid water becomes clear—प्रससादोदयादम्भः कुम्भयोनेर्महौजसः (R.V.—IV—21) ; that the Moon looks beautiful, when it is near the star Vis'ākhā (of the 16th Lunar Asterism—in April and May—Spring—V.V.—I—52) ; that the Moon looks exceedingly beautiful, when it is near the star Rohini (Aldebaran)—रोहिणीसंयोगेन अधिकं शोभते भगवान् मृगलाञ्छनः (Sanskritised Prākrit—V.V.—III—74); that on the

expiry of the Parva or Amāvasyā the Moon comes away from the Sun, *i.e.*, after Conjunction the Moon proceeds towards Opposition—पर्व्वात्यये सोम इवोष्णरश्मेः (R.V.—VII—33); that the Eclipse of the Moon occurs only on Parva days (Purnimā—Full Moon—Opposition)—अपर्व्वणि ग्रहकलुषेन्दुमण्डला विभावरी कथय कथं भविष्यति (M.M.—IV—174); that (when the Sun is) below the horizon (लोकालोक पर्व्वत ; चक्रवाल), there is darkness, and above light—प्रकाशश्चाप्रकाशश्च लोकालोक इवाचलः (R.V.—I—68); that autumnal nights are brightened by the Polar Star (ध्रुव) and the shining stars that follow it (R.V.—XVII—35), that the Moon looks beautiful when conjoined with Budha (Mercury) and Brihaspati (Jupiter—R.V.—XIII—76); that the Punarvasus (two stars of the fifth or seventh Lunar Mansion) look very beautiful, to which the Poet compares Rāma and Lakshmana (R.V.—XI—36); and that the Sun appears to rest or be motionless for a while at midday (तिष्ठत्येकक्षणमधिपतिर्ज्योतिषां व्योममध्ये—V.V.—II—13).

The Poet was also versed in Astrology (फलित ज्योतिष). He knew that when one sets out on an expedition, one takes care to avoid the direction occupied by S'ukra (Venus)—because even a formidable monarch is likely to be worsted, if he does not do so—पुरः शुक्रमिव प्रयाणे (K.S.—III—43); and that marriage-rites should begin on a day in the bright fortnight (lit., during the growth of the king of herbs) rendered auspicious by the presence of Yāmitra (from Greek diametron)—अथौषधीनामधिपस्य वृद्धौ, तिथौ च यामित्रगुणान्वितायाम् (K.S.—VII—1). There is Yāmitrabedha, when a pāpagraha or a wicked planet like Mars (मङ्गल), Saturn (शनि) etc., is

at the seventh position from the sign of the zodiac occupied by the Moon at the time of marriage. Yâmitrabedha becomes auspicious for marriage in exceptional circumstances. The Poet was aware that the toilet of the bride should commence at the moment which is presided over by the star Anurādhâ (D. Scorpionis) and at which the Moon joins Uttarafalguni (B. Leonis)—मैत्रे मुहूर्त्ते शशलाञ्छनेन योगं गतासूत्तरफल्गुनीषु (K.S. —VII—6). 'Maitra' means Anurādhâ (the 17th Star in the Zodiac). It is so called because its presiding deity is Mitra or the Sun. Maitra muhurta is the third muhurta from the rise of the Sun *ie.,* 96 minutes after sun-rise, a muhurta being a period of 48 minutes. He was not ignorant of the fact that the most auspicious moment of one's birth is when five planets occupy the highest positions in the sky—the apexes of their orbits, and are at the maximum distance from the Sun—ग्रहैस्ततः पञ्चभिरुच्चसंश्रयैरसूर्यगैः सूचितभाग्यसम्पदम् (R.V. —III—33), the term uchcha being derived, according to European Scholars, from *L. aus=apex*; that the moment (two dandas or 48 minutes before sunrise) presided over by Brahmā is auspicious for birth (R.V. —V—36); and that the retograde motion of Mars (मङ्गल) in any sign of the zodiac (*e.g.,* Ares) is unfavourable—यावदङ्गारको राशिमिव सा अनुवक्रम् न करोति (Sanskritised Prākrit—M.M.—III—174)—"'Lest Irāvati should return like the planet Mars', which when it turns back towards you is more unfavourable than when it has turned back from you." [1]

He was not ignorant of the science of Physics. He

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1. S. P. Pandit.

believed in the intimate connexion between the cause and effect—

उदेति पूर्वं कुसुमं, ततः फलं ; घनोदयः प्राक्, तदनन्तरं पयः ।
निमित्तनैमित्तिकयोरयं क्रमस्तव प्रसादस्य पुरस्तु सम्पदः ॥

—A.V.—VII—154.

(First appears the flower, then the fruit, first the rising of the cloud, then the rain; this is always the order of the cause and effect; but prosperity precedes the blessings of gods like you). He knew that the Moon is lighted by the rays of the Sun (R.V.—III—22), that rain-bearing clouds are produced by the evaporation of water by the sun's rays (K.S.—IV—44; R.V.—XIII—4,XVII—72) and are composed of water, heat and light, smoke and air (M.D.—I—5). He knew that clouds become lighter after they have discharged their water. (M.D.—I—13, 19). He was aware that the Moon exerts its influence on tides (R.V.—III—17, V—61, X—82, XII—36. and K.S.—III—67), that the rainbow is associated with water-bearing clouds (R.V. —XI—43), that the water of the Ganges and Sarayu is cooled by the melting of the Himālayan icecap (R.V. —XIV—3; XVI—44), and that the cloud is the source of the soothing rain and also of the destructive thunder (K.S.—IV—43). He knew that Magnets (अयस्कान्त) attract iron (K.S.—II—59; R.V.—XVII—63), that water-laden air soils mirrors (R.V.—XIV—37), that an arable land being burnt with fuel becomes fertile (R.V.—IX—80), that pieces of iron can be welded together, only when they are made red-hot (V.V.—II—117), and that a drop of oil covers a large expanse of waves (R.V.—XIV—38).

That Kālidāsa was versed in Music appears from his appropriate use of musical terms, e. g., तान (tone ; keynote—K S.—I—8), वितन्त्रीः (discordant, because the strings are not properly tuned ; K.S.—I—45), मूर्छना (a regulated rise or fall of sounds through the grāma or musical scale—M.D.—II-25) मध्यमस्वरः (the middle or dominant note—neither too high, nor too low—M.M. I—152), मार्जना (पुष्कर-वादनाविशेषः or a particular musical sound produced by Pushkara or one of the faces of the Mridanga—ibid), मायूरी (मयूरप्रिया रागिणी—a particular modification of the musical mode or राग of which peacocks are fond—ibid), and सुतन्त्रिगीतं—a melodious song well accompanied on the lute or arising from a musical instrument, the strings of which are well arranged and skilfully handled—R. S.—Summer—3).

That the Poet was not ignorant of the arts of singing, dancing and dramatic acting is evident from his statement that Dance should be sāttvika or should reflect the feelings, vāchika or should be in accordance with the words uttered, and āngika or should be accompanied with appropriate gestures and postures, as laid down by Bharata, author of the Nātya-s´āstra (R.V.—XIX—36). This is also evident from what he makes Ganadāsa say regarding dancing (M.M.—I-28)—viz., that dancing is of two kinds, tāndava of males and lāsya of females ; that it is capable of exhibiting the different kinds of sentiments (रस), character and conduct produced by the three principles—sattva, rajas and tamas. Ganadāsa says to Vakulāvalikā that he has instructed Mālavikā in the five-limb-action (पञ्चाङ्गादिकमभिनयं—M.M.—I—37), that

is, in dramatic gestures and postures in which the five limbs—two legs, two hands and the head—take part. The Poet makes Haradatta distinguish between the theory (शास्त्रं) and its application (प्रयोगः)—M.M.—I—74. The Parivrājikā remarks that dramatic art (which includes dancing) depends mainly on its practical application—प्रयोगप्रधानं हि नाट्यशास्त्रम् (M.M.—I—99), and later on after her seeing and hearing Mālavikā's dancing and singing, that—

अङ्गैरन्तर्निहितवचनैः सूचितसम्यगर्थः ।
पादन्यासो लयमुपगतस्तन्मयत्वं रसेसु ।
शाखायोनिर्मृदुरभिनयस्तद्विकल्पानुवृत्तौ ।
भावो भावं नुदति विषयाद्रागबन्धः स एव ॥

—(M.M.—II—24).

(When she has been silent, her gestures and postures have fully expressed her thoughts and feelings; the movements of her feet have kept time; the sentiments she wants to express have engrossed her completely; the movements of her hands in acting have been gentle and not violent; and in different kinds of dramatic imitation, appropriate bodily movements, expressive of different emotions following one another in quick succession have constituted a vivid and attractive picture of a series of passions. The following verse of Kumāra-Sambhavam (see p. 233) is highly significant.—

तौ सन्धिषु व्यञ्जितवृत्तिभेदं, रसान्तरेषु प्रतिबद्धरागम् ।
अपश्यतामप्सरसां मुहूर्त्तं, प्रयोगमाद्यं ललिताङ्गहारम् ॥(VII—91)

In the play enacted by Nymphs before S'iva and

Umā on the occasion of their marriage, (1) the dramatic style (वृत्ति) varied in accordance with the critical juncture or moment (सन्धि—they are five in number see p. 314)—there are four vrittis, viz., Kais´iki or Kaus´iki for erotic sentiment, Sātvati for heroic sentiment, A´rabhati for the sentiments of fury and hatred, and Bhārati for all sentiments) ; (2) Rāgas (musical modes) changed as rasas or sentiments changed, e.g., the masculine rāga is suited to the sentiments of fury, wonder and heroism ; the feminine to those of love, laughter and pathos ; and the neuter to those of terror, hatred and quiet) ; and (3) the gestures and postures of the actresses were appropriate and charming.

The Poet was also acquainted with the theory of teaching which he puts in the mouth of Kau´siki—शिष्टा...एव (M.M.—I—108, see p. 438). Again he says in A.S.—IV—46—Sanskritised Prākrit—सुशिष्यपरिदत्ता इव विद्या अशोचनीया संवृत्ता (Knowledge imparted to a good pupil does not cause repentance). A similar idea occurs in M.M.—I—35—पात्रविशेषे न्यस्तं गुणान्तरं व्रजति शिल्पमाधातुः (An art imparted to a proper pupil improves itself). The following remark of the Poet is full of meaning—विनेतुरद्रव्यपरिग्रहोऽपि बुद्धिलाघवं प्रकाशयति (M.M.—I 113—The teaching of the dullard sharpens the intellect of the teacher). He remarks on the readiness of Raghu to assimilate instruction—क्रिया हि वस्तूपहिता प्रसीदति (Efforts directed towards proper objects seldom fail—R.V.—III—29). He makes Ganadāsa say that instruction is good only when it stands the test in the presence of wise men, as gold is tested by means of

fire (उपदेशं......अग्निसु—M.M.—II—28) and also that knowledge is to be esteemed for its own sake—यस्यागमः केवलजीविकायै, तं ज्ञानपण्यं वणिजं वदन्ति (M.M.—I—116—He is a trader in learning who uses it only for earning his livelihood).

That Kālidāsa was versed in Politics is evident from the many political precepts with which his works are interspersed. Several of these occur in the seventeenth canto of Raghuvamśam, where he describes the administration of Atithi (see p.p. 127, 295). Enthusiasm associated with a sound policy leads to prosperity (K.S.—I—22)—सम्यक्प्रयोगादपरिक्षतायां नीताविवोत्साहगुणेन सम्पत्. Mountains, when bereft by Indra of wings, flee to the sea, as kings in misfortune to their allies (K.S.—I.—20). A similar idea is conveyed by—नृपा इवोपप्लविनः परेभ्यो, धर्मोत्तरं मध्यममाश्रयन्ते (R.V.—XIII—7)—('The Mountains who were humbled by Indra took shelter in the ocean) as kings harassed by their foes flee to a virtuous neutral chief for refuge.' A foe newly established on his throne can be deposed soon—

अचिराधिष्ठित राज्यः शत्रुः प्रकृतिष्वरूढमूलत्वात्।
नवसंरोपणशिथिलस्तरुरिव सुकरः समुद्धर्तुम्॥

(M.M—I—47)

(As a newly-planted tree, the roots of which are loose, can be easily eradicated, so the newly-acquired kingdom of an enemy, which has not as yet been able to send down its roots among the people, i.e., not been able as yet to win their affection and regard, can be easily conquered). Policy made use of at the

opportune moment bears fruit—काले खलु समारब्धाः फलं बध्नन्ति नीतयः—(R.V.—XII—69). Victory is with those who attack the weak points of the enemy—सम्मुखीनो हि जयो रन्ध्रप्रहारिणाम् (R.V.—XV—17). Atithi conceals his own weak points, but assails those of the enemy (R.V.—XVII—61).

The Poet believed in the law of heredity. Family qualities, according to him, are minute in the beginning and attain their full development with the advance of age, as is the case with Sudars'ana—वंशरागुणाः खल्वपि लोककान्ताः प्रारम्भसूक्ष्माः प्रथिमानमापुः (R.V.—XVIII-49).

Kālidāsa's Philosophy was eclectic. It was derived like that of the Bhagavad-Gitā from at least three different systems—Sāmkhya, Yoga and Vedānta. His belief in the reality of previous births or lives is manifest in his reference to the प्राक्तनजन्मविद्या (knowledge acquired in a former life) of Umā (K.S.—I—30), to sages enjoying the pure fruits of the austerities of their previous lives (K.S.—VI—10), to प्राक्तनसंस्कार (habits acquired in a previous life) mentioned in connexion with Dilipa's secret policy (R.V.—I—20), to Sudars'ana's पूर्वजन्मान्तरदृष्टपारा विद्या (knowledge mastered in a previous life—R.V.—XVIII—50), to the Mind's being—जन्मान्तरसङ्गतिज्ञम् (aware of union in a previous life) in connexion with Indumati's selection of Aja as her husband (R.V.—VII—15), to the attachments of previous births, indicated by undefined longings at the sight of beautiful objects or at the hearing of sweet sounds—रम्याणि......सौहृदानि—A.S.—V.—25. see p. 356), and to the deeds of a previous life, which though tending to make one miserable at present, would be product-

ive of happiness at the end (Sanskritised Prākrit—सुचरितप्रतिबन्धकं परिणामसुखं पुराकृतं—A.S.—VII—128).

He refers to the naturalness of the separation of the soul from the body in Vasishtha's advice to Aja on the occasion of his great bereavement (R.V.—VIII—87 and 89). The above verses beginning with मरणं प्रकृतिः शरीरिणां and स्वशरीरशरीरिणावपि resemble closely that beginning with जातस्य हि ध्रुवो मृत्युः—(Bhagavadgitā–II-27).

He refers to the law of Karma, freedom from which leads to salvation, in कर्म्मबन्धच्छिदं धर्म्मं भवस्येव मुमुक्षवः (such good deeds as shall cut worldly ties—liability to rebirth—of salvation-desiring men.—K.S.—II—51), and to different men treading different paths in the next world according to their deeds in this life and so there being no likelihood of their reunion—परलोकजुषां स्वकर्म्मभिर्गतयो भिन्नपथा हि देहिनाम् (R.V.—VIII—85). He says that the blessing of Atithi by the pleased Brāhmans could not find any room for manifestation, because all space was occupied by the good deeds of his previous lives (R.V.—XVII—18). This belief in the law of Karma and in rebirth caused by this almost inexorable law is the common property of all the systems of Hindu Philosophy except that of the materialistic Chārvāka. The Poet refers to धर्म्म or good deeds as efficacious in breaking the fetters of *karma*. He also mentions true knowledge as necessary for conquering the allurements of the senses—संयमी तत्वज्ञानेन इन्द्रियाख्यान् विपून् इव (R.V.—IV-60).

There is a reference to Mahes'vara's Virāsana attitude, his checking of breath (वायुनिरोध), his Samādhi (deep meditation or trance) and his seeing

of परमात्मा or the Supreme Soul in his own soul. (K.S.—III—45 to 50) and to Raghu's controlling the five kinds of bodily winds (शरीरगोचरान् पञ्च मरुतः) by means of प्रणिधान or Samâdhi (R. V —VIII—19) and also to Raghu's attainment of the Supreme Soul or to his becoming one with the Eternal Spirit of Light by means of Samādhi—रघु योगसमाधिना तमसः परं मायातीतं अव्ययं पुरुषं आपत् (R. V.—VIII—24).

In his attaching importance to true knowledge, good deeds and Yoga practice, and his regarding salvation as oneness with the Divine Spirit, the philosophical doctrines of the Poet resemble those of the Bhâgavadgitâ and also those of the Sāmkhya, Yoga and Vedānta systems of Philosophy. There is a distinct allusion to the principal tenet of Sāmkhya in—

त्वामामनन्ति प्रकृतिं पुरुषार्थप्रवर्त्तिनीम् ,
तद्दर्शिनमुदासीनं त्वामेव पुरुषं विदुः ।—(K.S.—II—13).

(Sages declare thee, Brahmā, as the Active Principle of Nature (प्रकृति) directing souls to their duties and also as the Neutral and Passive Soul (पुरुष) observing Nature's operations.) But while Sāmkhya insists on the absolute distinction between Soul and Matter, Kâlidāsa makes them two aspects of the same Entity or Godhead, the existence of which Sāmkhya denies for want of proof. Though the above verse is couched in the terminology of the S'amkhya, it breathes the spirit of the Vedānta system of Philosophy. Similarly there is a combination of the Vedānta and Yoga systems in the first verse of the Vikramorvas'i—वेदान्तेषु

यमाहुरेकपुरुषं......अन्तर्यश्च मुमुक्षुभिर्नियमितप्राणादिभिर्मृगयते—Who is designated as One in Vedānta........and whom salvation-desiring men seek by means of various Yoga practices. The Poet identifies the individual soul with the All-Soul in K. S.—II-15, where he says—त्वमेव........वेद्यञ्च वेदिता चासि, ध्याता ध्येयञ्च........—You are the knower and the thing to be known, the thinker and the thing to be thought....... . Salvation (मुक्ति) is the state of beatitude resulting according to Vedānta from a union between the Individual and the Universal Souls—रघु........आपत्—(See above).

The Poet refers evidently to the Purva Mimāmsā of Jaimini in वागर्थाविवसम्पृक्तौ—naturally and closely connected like the word and its meaning (R. V.—I-1) and again in Pushya's learning Yoga from the sage Jaimini for the sake of his salvation (R.V.—XVIII-33). We do not know for certain whether the Poet substituted Jaimini for Patanjali in a hurry, as Jaimini's Mimāmsā deals primarily with the sacred Vedic ritual and the rewards resulting from its performance. Yoga, however, may simply mean the, 'union of, the individual soul with the Supreme Spirit,' or Salvation, and Jaimini may teach Pushya how to attain it by the correct performance of Vedic rites.

Kālidāsa could not remain content with the abstract godhead of the Vedānta school, which regards salvation as being equivalent to oneness with the Supreme Soul. He believed in a personal god or Maheśvara, not in Maheśvara alone, but in his consort Pārvati as well, as the Supreme God is neither

S'iva nor Umâ alone, but both indissolubly united with each other, one being only one-half of the Whole (K.S.—VII—23 ; R.V.—I—1 ; M.M.—Prelude to Act I)—the Supreme Soul dividing itself into the male and female principles for the purpose of creation (K.S.—II—7 ; 13—Sāmkhya doctrine) and also manifesting itself in eight forms—earth, water, fire, air, ether, the sun, the moon and the worshipper—A.S. and M.M.—Prelude to Act I). The retort of Umâ to the Brâhman youth, who has come to blaspheme S'iva, would be used by the Poet himself to silence those who would speak ill of his favourite God (K.S.—V—75 to 83) .

Though he invokes Mahes'vara or S'iva at the beginning of his Raghuvams'am, Mālavikāgnimitram, Vikramorvas'i and Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam, and in words full of deep reverence refers to the god under the names of Chandis'vara, Indumauli and S'ambhu in his Meghadutam, and though his Kumârasambhavam is an epic dealing with Mahes'vara, his consort Umā and their son Kumāra or Kārtikeya, yet the Oneness of Godhead under its apparently diverse aspects is always evident to him, and inspires him in the composition of two of the noblest hymns in the whole realm of Sanskrit literature, *viz.*, those addressed to Brahmā (K.S.—II—4 to 15) and to Vishnu (R.V.—X—16 to 32), which resemble in many respects several verses of Bhagvadgitā (VII—8 to 26, IX—16 to 19, and X—20 to 42). The above statement will be clear from the following verse of Kumāras'ambhavam (VII—44).—

एकैव मूर्त्तिर्बिभिदे त्रिधा सा सामान्यमेषां प्रथमावरत्वम् ।
विष्णोर्हरस्तस्य हरिः कदाचित् वेधास्तयोस्तावपि धातुराद्यौ ॥

(One Supreme Spirit divides itself into Three, the superiority and inferiority (or seniority and juniority) of which are equal : sometimes S'iva becomes senior to Vishnu, sometimes Vishnu to S'iva, and sometimes Brāhma becomes prior to Siva and Vishnu, and sometimes the latter to the former.) The same idea of the Unity of Trinity is expressed elsewhere (K.S.—II-4, 6 ; VI—23 ; R. V.—X-16). There is a close agreement between the verse enjoining the leaving of the consequences of one's actions to God (R.V.—X-27) and several verses of Bhagavadgitā (III-30 , IV-41, IX—27, 28, XII-6).

The tolerant Poet has no objection to Pururavā's and the Nymphs' addressing their prayers to the God of the Sun (V.V.—I and IV), because the sun like the earth is nothing but one of the greatnesses or glories (महिमा) of the Supreme Being, (R.V.—X-28). But he will not allow a S'udra to overstep the bounds of Varna-dharma and practise the rites to which only Brāhmans are entitled (तपस्यनधिकारित्वात्)—R.V.—XV—51 ; (See also p. 188.)

It is difficult to understand the Poet's attitude towards Buddhism. He has said nothing in his works either in favour of or against it. It cannot be said that Buddhism had died out before he flourished. Both at Sānchi and Sārnāth Buddhistic stupas and temples were erected from the 3rd century B.C. up to the 12th century A. D. (see p. 160), and beautiful

frecoes with the incidents of Buddha's life were painted at Ajantâ in the latter part of the Gupta Period. Mr. Havell says that Mahāyāna Buddhism was "one of the sectarian phases of the great Vaishnava movement of which all the Gupta Emperors from Chandragupta to Bālāditya were zealous patrons"[1]. Kālidâsa's silence regarding the Buddhistic monuments at Sânchi in his Meghaduta, though he mentions several important and unimportant places and rivers of Malwa, and refers to the famous Vidisā (Sânchi is five or six miles from this ancient town) and even to a small hill called Nichaih, is significant. The only conclusion, which can be drawn from this, is that the Poet's orthodox Brāhmanism would neither allow him to come in active touch with anything Buddhistic nor to mention anything in its praise, and that his culture and the attitude of his patrons would not permit him to speak of it in depreciatory terms.

Matthew Arnold has said that culture is passion for sweetness and light. These are manifest in all the works of the Poet. Not only does he give us valuable information, but he also conveys it to us as sweetly as possible. His polished diction, his apt similes, his sound echoing the sense, his melodious numbers and their variation for avoidance of monotony, his graphic description of the beautiful and sublime in Nature, his vivid characterisation and above all his suggestiveness and sense of proportion are worthy of the highest praise. His close and sympathetic observation of Nature, his extensive travels and

1. Aryan Rule in India by E. B. Havell, p. 184.

his kindly association with the various sections of the Ujjaini society laid the foundations of that culture which beautifies all his works. That he preferred the Vaidarbhi (southern) to the Gaudi (eastern) style is evident from his works, which contain all that is best in the former mode of composition.

As instances of the sound echoing the sense we may adduce भूर्जेषु मर्म्मरीभूताः मरुतः (R. V.—IV-73)—breezes passing though birch-leaves and producing murmuring sounds—in which there is a repetition of *r* and *m* ; R.V.—VI-57, where the murmur of palm-leaves is imitated ; R.V.—XIX-41, where the rustling of silk cloths is reproduced ; and also—मामन्द्राणाम्फलमविकलं लप्स्यसे गर्जितानाम् (M.D.—I-36), where the thunder-roll is reproduced by the letters *m*, *d*, *r* and *n* specially in मामन्द्राणाम्फ. Similarly—

यमात्मनः सद्मनि सन्निकृष्टो मन्द्रध्वनितयाजितयामतूर्यः (R.V.—VI—56) echoes the deep roll of ocean-waves with the sounds *m*, *n*, *d* and *r*.

The hand of the master-artist is exhibited in the Poet's selection of words. He usually avoids अप्रयुक्तता or the use of non-current words, असमर्थता or the use of a word in a sense which it does not generally bear, अप्रतीतता or the use of highly technical words, and क्लिष्टता or the use of a word in a far-fetched sense.

His intimate knowledge of Grammar is shown not only in the construction of his sentences where there are very few deviations from orthodox rules, but also in his grammatical similes (See below; see also R.V.—III—21). Some of the Poet's transgressions of the rules of Pānini's grammar (See also p. 38) prove accord-

ing to Mr. Rāmāvatāra Sarmā Kālidāsa's priority to Subandhu and Bhārvavi who flourished in the sixth century A.D. and who followed Pānini's rules faithfully. Some of these deviations are—दृष्टभक्तिः (M.D.—I—37) and दृढ़भक्तिः (R.V.—XII—9) which should have been दृष्टाभक्तिः and दृढ़ाभक्तिः according to Pānini. So त्वमसि भविता for त्वं भवितासि (M.D.—I—51), पातयां प्रथममास for प्रथमं पातयामास (R.V.—IX—61), प्रभ्रंशयां यो नहुषं चकार for यः नहुषं प्रभ्रंशयाञ्चकार (R.V.—XIII—36) etc., which are examples of the splitting of a verb into two parts corresponding to the splitting of the infinitive in English, may be adduced as inconsistent with the rules of Pānini. Professor S'armā concludes from these that in the time of As'vaghosha and Kālidāsa, Pānini's rules were not strictly followed, though they were so later on, *i.e.*, in the time of Bhāravi and Subandhu. [1]

In the use of Figures of Speech he is unrivalled, his *forte* being simile : 'उपमा कालिदासस्य' has become a by-word among Indians. His similes are appropriate and accurate and seem to have been suggested to his mind without the slightest effort on his part. Nature more than Man—provided him with an ample store of rhetorical ornaments. Nature both in its wild aspect as in the regions of the Himālayas and Vindhyas and in its artistic garb, as beautifully modified by the human hand in the pleasure-gardens of princes, and in both of its aspects in hermitages, was the object of the Poet's ardent attachment. Among these natural objects, those which were very dear to the heart of the Poet, were hills, lakes or tanks full of

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1. P. p. 60—61 of 'Kâlidâsa' by Pandit M. Dvivedi.

lotuses, mango-blossoms, the flute-like sound generat-ed by the wind in hollow bamboos मारुतपूर्णरन्ध्रैः कूजद्भिः कीचकैः—R.V.—II—12), peacocks and gazelles, and the married pair of the vegetable world, viz., the mango-tree and any one of the creepers—Mādhavilatā, Priyangulatā or As'oka-latā (R.V.—VII—21, VIII—61, A.S.—IV and M.M.—IV). He knew accurately the characteristics of the different seasons—specially of Central India—and their flowers and also of the habits of lower animals as affected by the change of seasons.

The sources of his metaphors, similes and analogies are various. They are derived from Mythology Morals, Politics, celestial objects, clouds, rivers, hills, trees, flowers specially lotuses, bees, swans and other lower animals, lamps and wheels, and even from Grammar and what not. The union of Rāma and his brothers (R.V.—XI—56) with the four princesses of Mithilā is like that of Prakriti (the nominal or verbal base) and Pratyaya (the inflexion or affix). Rāma places Sugriva on Vāli's throne (R.V.—XII—58) as an *a'des'a* (a substitute e.g., भू) is used for a *dha'tu* (a verbal root *e.g.*, अस्). Every member of the Raghu dynasty, for example, S'atrughna, can, singlehanded, successfully check the enemy as an apavāda (a special grammatical rule like घुरि बहुत्वे त्वे, the application of which results in the form नरेभ्यः) can suppress an Utsarga (a general grammatical rule like अकारोद्दीर्घं घोषवति, the operation of which produces such expressions as नराभ्याम्). The same idea is expressed in K.S.—II—27. The soldiers of Rāma follow loyally his brother S'atrughna (when he leaves Ayodhyā for waging war

with the Demon Lavana—R.V.—XV—9) as the prefix *adhi* does the root *ing* (इङ्), the combination of which means "to read".

As examples of beautiful metaphors and similes, we may mention among others Ritusamhāra-Autumn 1, 2, and 18 (p.p. 210-11); Hemanta or Winter—10 (p. 212) Kumārasambhavam-IV-33 (p.223), V-85 (p. 228) VIII-45 (p. 235); Meghadutam-Purvamegha-47 (p. 168) Uttaramegha—43 (p. 247). Raghuvams'am—V—70 (p. 258), VII—60 (p. 264) VIII—15 (p. 266) XIII—54 to 57 (p. 282); Vikramorvas'i-I, beginning with आविर्भूते शशिनि (p. 329); Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam—साक्षात् मृगतृष्णिकायाम् (VI—99, p. 360). The comparison of a dark cloud streaked with lightning to the gold lines on a touchstone is striking (M.D.—I—38). The comparison between the charming S'akuntalā escorted by the hermits and the graceful sprig of young green leaves amidst ripe yellow ones (पाण्डुपत्राणां मध्ये किसलयमिव—A.S—V-45) and that of the smile of Umā in which her pearl-white teeth and rosy lips take part with the effect of the placing of the white flower on reddish sprays and with that of pearls on corals, are beautiful (K.S.—I—44, p 218). The analogy between the vast expanse of milk-white snow on the Himālayan peaks and the accumulated loud laughter of Mahes'vara is sublime (M.D.—I—59, see p. 151).

He shows considerable skill in the use of the figure Antithesis (विरोध). In a series of apt antitheses he describes the virtues of Dilipa—

जुगोपात्मानमत्रस्तो भेजे धर्म्ममनातुरः ।
अगृध्नुरादद्दे सोऽर्थमसक्तः सुखमन्वभूत् ॥

ज्ञाने मौनं क्षमा शक्तौ त्यागे श्लाघाविपर्ययः ।
गुणा गुणानुबन्धित्वात्तस्य सप्रसवा इव ॥R.V.-I-21 and 22.

(করিতেন আত্মরক্ষা, স্বভাব-নির্ভয় ;
সাধিতেন ধর্ম্ম, রোগহীন অকাতর,
অলুব্ধ হইয়া অর্থ করেন সঞ্চয়,
অনাসক্ত হ'য়ে সুখ ভুঞ্জে নৃপবর ।
জ্ঞানে মৌনী, দানে রাজা শ্লাঘা-বিরহিত,
বৈর-নির্য্যাতন-ক্ষম হয়ে ক্ষমাপর,
এরূপে বিরোধ-ভাব ত্যজি পরস্পর
গুণচয় তাঁর দেহে ছিল সম্মিলিত ।)—N. D.

(Though fearless, yet he fortified himself against the foe; though not ill or miserable, yet he practised piety; though not avaricious, he acquired wealth; though indifferent to pleasure, yet he enjoyed it; though learned yet he was silent; though powerful, yet forbearing; though charitable, yet free from self-adulation : opposite qualities dwelt in him in perfect harmony like brothers).

In another series of appropriate antitheses he describes effectively the contrast between the royal and ascetic lives of Aja and Raghu respectively (see p. 266). There are also beautiful antitheses in the hymn to the Great God (R.V.—X—16 see p. 466).

Though hyperbole (अतिशयोक्ति) is regarded by Sanskrit Rhetoricians as the best of figures of speech, yet Kālidāsa who was eminent for his sense of proportion, did not usually employ this figure. An instance of this, however, occurs in his Vikramorvas'i—

Act II—आभरणस्याभरणं प्रसाधनविधेः प्रसाधनविशेषः उपमानस्यापि प्रत्युपमानं वपुस्तस्याः (See p. 373). Among other instances may be mentioned Dushmanta's praise of S'akuntalā's graces to his Vidushaka—

चित्ते निवेश्य परिकल्पितसत्त्वयोगा, रूपोच्चयेन मनसा विधिना कृता नु ।
स्त्रीरत्नसृष्टिरपरा प्रतिभाति सा मे, धातुर्व्विभुत्वमनुचिन्त्य वपुश्च तस्याः ॥

—A.S.—II-53.

(Man's All-wise Maker, wishing to create
A faultless form, whose matchless symmetry
Should far transcend Creator's choicest works,
Did call together by his mighty will
And garner up in his eternal mind
A bright assemblage of all lovely things,
And then as in a picture, fashion them
Into one perfect and ideal form—
Such the divine, the wondrous prototype,
Whence her fair shape was moulded into being—
T.K.R.)

(শকুন্তলারূপ আর বিধির শকতি ;
এই কথা মনে হয়, হলে অনুভূতি—
বিধাতা করেছে সৃষ্টি রমণী-রতন,
পার্থিব সৌন্দর্য্য-রাজি করিয়া চয়ন
চিত্রেতে প্রথমে, পরে প্রদানি জীবন ॥)

The above verse seems to be made up of two verses of Kumārasambham, *viz.*, उन्मीलितं.........नवयौवनेन (I—32; see p. 218) and सर्व्वोपमा.........दिदृक्षयेव (I-49, see p. 366).

Also—अनाघ्रातं पुष्पं किसलयमलूनं कररुहै—
रनाविद्धं रत्नं मधु नवमनास्वादितरसम् ।

अखण्डं पुण्यानां फलमिव च तद्रूपमनघं ,
न जाने भोक्तारं किमिह समुपस्थास्यति विधिः ॥

—A. S.—II-54.

(This peerless maid is like a fragrant flower,
Whose perfumed breath has never been diffused ;
A tender bud, that no profaning hand,
Has dared to sever from its parent stalk ;
A gem of purest water, just released
Pure unblemished from its glittering bed;
Or may the maid haply be compared
To sweetest honey, that no mortal lip
Has sipped or rather to the mellowed fruit
Of virtuous actions in some former birth,
Now brought to full perfection ? Lives the man
Whom bounteous heaven has destined to espouse her?

—T.K R,)

(অনাঘ্রাত পুষ্প, নখ-অভিন্ন পল্লব,
অনাবিদ্ধ রত্ন, মধু-অনাপীত-নব,
অখণ্ড পুণ্যের দোষ-স্পর্শ-শূন্য-ফল,
ভোক্তা কোনজন, বিধি জানেন কেবল ॥)

The figure अर्थान्तरन्यास or corroboration is effectively used specially in the earlier chapters of Kumarasambhavam. In this figure a particular proposition in the earlier part of a couplet is confirmed by a general principle in its later portion. Instances of this are —K.S.—I—12 and 59, pp. 146 and 220 ; II—55; p. 220 ; IV—28 and 33, pp. 222—3 ; VI—85, p. 230 ; R.V.—III—29, p. 256 ; XI—89, p. 274 etc. Dr. Keith says, "The continuation of the Kumārasambhavam

shows clearly its unauthenticity by the feebleness of its efforts at this figure [1]". Sometimes a particular proposition is confirmed by another, e.g., K.S.—I—3, p. 143.

His interrogations are beautiful, e.g., R.V.—XV—64, p. 290, where he describes the captivating effect of Lava and Kus´a's Rāmāyana-chanting.

Sarcasm was not unknown to him. Irāvati's sarcastic remarks to the King when he is detected in making love with Mālavikā are pungent, though some times they are coarse (M.M.—III and IV). Aus´inari's retorts on a similar occasion are more polished When the Queen presents to the King Urvas´i's letter which he and his Vidushaka have been searching, the King says 'स्वागतं देवैव'—'Goddess, you are welcome.' The Queen replies—दुरागतमिदानीं संवृत्तम् (Sanskritised Prākrit—my coming is not welcome (to you) at present). When the King says that he was not seeking the letter but his neck-charm, the Queen remarks—युज्यत आत्मनः सौभागयं प्रच्छादयितुम्—It is meet to conceal one's good fortune (V.V.—II). When the exiled Sitā says to Lakshmana—श्रुतस्य किं तत् सदृशं कुलस्य—R.V.—XIV—61 p. 286) or Dhārini asks Agnimitra after she has married him with Mālavikā, if anything more, which is dear to him, need be done (M.M.—V, p. 384) sarcasm attains its most refined elevation.

Kālidāsa was not devoid of humour of which we cannot expect much from his Kāvyas or epics and lyrics. In his works, his humour is refined and never coarse. In the sixth canto of Raghuvams´a, Sunandā

1. C. S. L.—p. 48.

in a spirit of innocent mischief asks Indumati to leave Aja and proceed to another king, though she is aware that Raghu's son is the object of her love (See p. 262). Similarly Umā playfully strikes with her wreath her female companion, who after painting her feet with alaktaka humorously expresses the wish that they may touch the half-moon on her husband's head (See p. 231). In the dramas the repartees of Vidushakas and the pranks of female attendants, of which Vidushakas are generally butts, supply an inexhaustible fund of wit and humour. When Dushmanta, for example, tells his Vidushaka that S'akuntalā has not out of her good breeding distinctly expressed her love, the Vidushaka replies that the King probably does not expect that S'akuntalā will leap into his lap. When the King adds that still S'akuntalā has stayed on the pretext of her foot-sore and the entanglement of her bark-dress, the Vidushaka says 'Then make preparations for your marriage. See you are going to transform this asceticism-forest (तपोवन) into your pleasure-garden (उपवन A.S.—II—59 to 62)'.

The Poet's love of the vegetable and animal (specially antelopes and cows) worlds is to be found in all his works. His love of flowers and specially of mango-blossoms is well-known. In the Kumâra-Sambhavam Umā is described as tending plants with potfuls of water and entertaining such affection for them as is incapable of being decreased even by her attachment to her favourite son Kārtikeya (K.S.—V—14). Vālmiki's advice to Sitā, when she is banished to his hermitage by her husband, is that she is

bound to experience the happiness of suckling children even before her children are born, if she waters plants according to her strength—R.V.—XIV—78). S'akuntalā embraces her creeper-sister Mādhavi before she leaves Kanva's hermitage for Hastinâpura ; and the sage thinks f marrying the Creeper in accordance with S'akuntalā's request to the Sahakāra tree (A.S.—IV.—105—6). What the great Indian knew through his poetic intuition in the fifth century has been scientifically demonstrated by another great Indian in the earlier part of the twentieth. Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose (See the Calcutta Statesman of the 30th November, 1927) says, "Sir Charles Darwin in the course of his brilliant address before the British Association in Dublin in 1908 formulated his deep conviction that it is consistent with the doctrine of continuity that in plants there exists a faint copy of what we know as consciousness in ourselves. Wherein resided this plant-psyche, the faint copy of consciousness ? No one had the faintest conception about it. I, however, so far back as 1906 established the nervous impulse in plants, which in animals causes sensation."

Several instances of the sympathy of Nature with sorrow-stricken man are to be found in Kālidāsa's writings and have already been referred to (See p. 288). Even Spring in his sympathy with Dushmanta does not show his beauties (A.S.—VI). Trees by bending themselves sympathise with Rāma in his affliction when he is bereft of Sitā (R.V.—XIII—24). Kālidāsa also makes Nature sympathise with man in his joy. When Umā, Raghu and Râma and his brothers

are born, the sky becomes clear and the sun shines mildly and pleasant breezes blow (K.S.—I—23 ; R.V.—III—14, p. 201 ; X—72 to 74).

To the Poet Nature is fraught with endless significance—e.g.,

भीमकान्तैर्नृपगुणैः स बभूवोपजीविनाम् ।
अधृष्यश्चाभिगम्यश्च यादोरत्नैरिवार्णवः ॥—R.V.—I-16.

(As the ocean with its beautiful gems and terrible animals both attracts and repels men, so Dilipa with his amiable and stern qualities was both loved and feared by his dependents).

Again—भवन्ति नम्रास्तरवः फलागमैर्नवाम्बुभिर्दूरविलम्बिनो घनाः ।
अनुद्धताः सत्पुरुषाः समृद्धिभिः, स्वभाव एवैष परोपकारिणाम् ॥
—A.S.—V.—13.

(As trees droop when they become fruit-laden, as clouds surcharged with new water bend down, so good men do not become arrogant on account of prosperity—this is the character of the kind-hearted). Similarly the rising and setting of the Sun and Moon are emblematic of the ups and downs of human life—

तेजोद्वयस्य युगपद्व्यसनोदयाभ्यां
लोको नियम्यत इवात्मदशान्तरेषु—(A.S.—IV—33 .

The Poet holds the mirror, as it were, up to Nature. Can the description of seasons be more beautiful, vivid and accurate in detail than what we find in the Ritusamhāra, Kumārasambhavam (III—25 to 29—Spring), Raghuvams'am (IV—17 to 24—Autumn ; IX—24 to 47-Spring ; XVI—43 to 54—Summer), Meghadutam (commencement of Rains) and Mālavikāgnimitram (III

—the King's description of Spring), of course if some sensual passages be eliminated? We see the sublime aspect of Nature, and sometimes those of Man and Nature in the demented Pururavâ's description of natural scenery (नवजलधरः......नोर्व्वशी—V.V.—IV); in Râma's pointing out to S'ita on their return-journey the grandeur of Atri's hermitage (R.V.—XIII—50 to 52), and in the description of the yoga of S'iva amidst an appropriate natural environment—लता..... स्वहस्तात् (K.S.—III—41 to 51). It must be said, however, that the Poet is more fond of depicting the beautiful than the sublime. The effectiveness of such description is due not only to his power of selecting appropriate words but also to his close and accurate observation of and hence his intimate acquaintance with Man and Nature. As instances selected at random we may adduce the description of the vegetable world at the advent of Autumn—काशांशुका...मालतीभिः (See p. 210), of the perplexity of Umâ when S'iva suddenly discovers himself—तं वीक्ष्य...विधत्ते (See p. 228) and of the conduct of the gazelle and lion in the heat of summer—मृगा... केशरः (See p.207). How accurate and graphic is the description of midday—

पत्रच्छायासु हंसा मुकुलितनयना दीर्घिकापद्मिनीनां
सौधान्यत्यर्थतापाद्वलभिपरिचयद्वेषि पारावतानि......ससरसिः—
M.M.—II.—46.

(Geese with half-closed eyes are resting in the shade of the lotus-leaves of the lake. On account of heat pigeons are avoiding the roofs of houses. Thirsty peacocks are flying towards the revolving fountain

flinging out sprays of water. As you (King Agnimitra) shine with your manifold virtue, so the sun decks the sky in all his splendour.) Here is another example of his accurate observation of natural phenomena— हिमसेकविपत्तिरत्र मे, नलिनी (पूर्व्वनिदर्शनं मता)—(R.V.—VIII—45) —the first instance observed by me of a soft thingbeing destroyed by another soft object is that of the blighting of the lotus by the fall of cold dew. How true to Nature is the following description of the morning—

कर्कन्धूनामुपरि तुहिनं रञ्जयत्यग्रसन्ध्या
दार्भं मुञ्चत्युटजपटलं वीतनिद्रो मयूरः ।
वेदिप्रान्तात् खुरविलिखितादुत्थितश्चैष सद्यः
पश्चादुच्चैर्भवति हरिणः स्वाङ्गमायच्छमानः ॥ A.S.—IV-35.

(The early dawn tinges with red the snow-covered plum. The peacock awaking from its sleep alights from the kus´a-strewn roof of the cottage. The deer rising from the edges of the platform indented by its hoofs stretches its hind-quarters upwards.)

The remarks of Mr. Ryder in this connexion are worth perusal—"Kālidāsa's knowledge of Nature is not only sympathetic, it is also minutely accurate. Not only are the snow and windy music of the Himalayas, the mighty current of the sacred Ganges, his possession ; his too are smaller streams and trees and every littlest flower......I have already hinted at the wonderful balance in Kālidāsa's character, by virtue of which he found himself equally at home in a palace and in a wilderness.[1] I know not with whom to com-

1. See p. 476.

pare him in this ; even Shakespeare for all his magical insight into natural beauty, is primarily a poet of the human heart. That can hardly be said of Kālidāsa, nor can it be said that he is primarily a poet of natural beauty. The characters unite in him, it might almost be said, chemically. The matter, which I am clumsily endeavouring to make plain is beautifully epitomised in the Cloud-Messenger. The former half is a description of external nature, yet interwoven with human feeling ; the latter half is a picture of a human heart, yet the picture is framed in natural beauty. So exquisitely is the thing done that none can say which half is superior. . . . Kālidāsa understood in the fifth century what Europe did not learn until the nineteenth, and even now comprehends only imperfectly : that the world was not made for man ; that man reaches his full stature only as he realises the dignity and worth of life that is not human.[1]"

That the Poet's love for Nature was intense appears from his making even Agnimitra who is obsessed by his passion for Mālavikā exalt the beauties of his pleasure-garden at the advent of Spring above those of the fairest ladies in the verse—रक्ताशोक........योषिताम् (M.M.—III—30).—the purport of which is—As´oka flowers surpass the alaktaka-dyed lips of girls ; black, white and reddish kuruvakas establish their superiority to the beautiful figures painted on the bodies of ladies, and tilaka (sesamum) flowers with black bees on them excel the black spots (तिलक) with

1. T. K. R.—p.p.—XIX and XX.

which girls adorn their foreheads, and so it appears that Spring is bent on slighting the decoration for which women exert themselves so delightfully.

The Poet's dexterity in describing moving objects excites our admiration. The descriptions of the chariot of Pururavā moving upwards (V.V.—I), of the chariot of Dushmanta moving downwards (A.S.—VII) as his eye glances from heaven to earth in his rapid descent, of his chariot running swiftly on the ground (A.S.—I) and of the hunted deer running for its life (A.S.—I) are inimitable (See also Preface). .

The Poet's graphic sketch of the deserted city of Ayodhyā is a masterpiece of poetic art (R.V.—XVI—10 to 21). Nor less vivid is his description of Das'aratha's hunting (R.V.—IX—50 to 67), specially of the proud black antelope which is followed by hinds chewing kus'a grass, whose motion is now and then impeded by fawns eager to suck their udders.

The Poet's delineation of child-life is no less impressive and accurate. We do not know for certain whether the Poet was married and whether he had children. But his works show his intimate acquaintance with marital state and child-life. The baby Raghu is described thus—

उवाच धात्र्या प्रथमोदितं वाचो, ययौ तदीयमवलम्ब्य चाङ्गुलीम् ।
अभूच्च नम्रः प्रणिपातशिक्षया, पितुर्मुदं तेन ततान सोऽर्भकः ॥

—(R.V.—III—25).

(The child imitated the words of his nurse, walked taking hold of her fingers, learnt bowing from her and thus increased his father's delight). In the next

verse (III—26), the Poet describes the great pleasure felt by Dilipa when he places his child on his lap. In the Mālavikāgnimitram (Act I), the disclosure by the child Vasulakshmi of Mālavikā's name to the King, when Mālavikā's portrait is being exhibited, though against the wishes of her mother, is very natural. The description of Sarvadamana in the seventh Act of Abhijnāna-S´akuntalam—his making the lion-cub show its teeth, his frowardness, his demanding his toy-peacock as a substitute for the young animal and his eagerness to see his mother, when one of the attendant ladies asks him to look at the beauty of the clay-bird (शकुन्त-लावण्य—which resembles the name of his mother) are life-like. It is probably not Dushmanta but Kālidāsa who thus describes the exquisite pleasure felt by him when he sees his child—

आलक्ष्यदन्तमुकुलाननिमित्तहासैः
अव्यक्तवर्णरमणीयवचःप्रवृत्तीन् ।
अङ्काश्रयप्रणयिनस्तनयान् वहन्तो
धन्यास्तदङ्गरजसा मलिनीभवन्ति ॥—(A.S.—VII-70).

(রদ ঈষৎ-মুকুলিত অকারণ-হাসে,
আধ আধ কথাগুলি মনোহর ভাষে।
অঙ্ক আরোহিতে শিশু প্রণয় জানায়,
ধন্য পিতা বাল-রজঃ লাগে যার গায় ॥)

(How blessed the virtuous parents whose attire
Is soiled with dust by raising from the ground
The child that asks a refuge in their arms !
And happy are they while with lisping prattle,

In accents sweetly inarticulate,
He charms their ears ; and with his artless smiles
Gladdens their hearts, revealing to their gaze
His tiny teeth just budding into view)—M.W. .

Mr. Ryder remarks in this connexion—"It would be difficult to find anywhere lovelier pictures of childhood than those in which our Poet presents the little Bharata (A.S.), A'yus (V.V.), Raghu (R.V.) and Kumāra (K.S). It is a fact worth noticing that Kālidāsa's children are all boys. Beautiful as his women are, he never does glance at a little girl (Vasulaksmi ?—M.M.). Kālidāsa could not understand women without understanding children". [1] At another place he says "I know of no poet, unless it be Shakespare, who has given the world a group of heroines, so individual, yet so universal; heroines as true, as tender, as brave, as are, Indumati, S'itā, Pārvati, the Yaksha's Bride and S'akuntalā". [2] But we must remember that A'yus is not a child but a youth who has finished the duties of Brahmacharyyās'rama and is going to enter into Garhastyās'rama (V.V.—V—79). This is significant and indicates most probably the age of Kumâragupta when he was installed as Yuvarâja by his father Chandragupta II.

Kālidāsa was an adept in the description of pathos. The whole of Meghaduta is an embodiment of pathos and love. The lamentation of Rati for her dead husband (K.S.—IV—3 to 38), of Aja for his deceased wife (R.V.—VIII—44 to 69) and of Pururavā for Urvas'i (V.V.—IV), the exile of S'itâ by Râma (R.V.

1. T.K.R.—p. XIX. 2—Ibid.

—XIV—53 to 67) and the rejection of S'akuntalā by her royal husband (from the latter part of Act V of Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam to their reunion in Act VII) are notable instances of the pathetic.

The Poet is seldom prolix. His art of condensation has been best exhibited in his summary of four hundred and fiftythree cantos of the Ayodhyā, Aranya, Kishkindhyā, Sundara and Lankā Kāndas of Vālmiki's Rāmāyana in only one hundred and four couplets of a single canto, *viz.*, the twelfth of his Raghuvams'am. Here is an example of his conciseness—

पित्रा दत्तां रुदन् रामः प्राङ्महीं प्रत्यपद्यत ।
पश्चाद्वनाय गच्छेति तदाज्ञां मुदितोऽग्रहीत् ॥

(R.V.—XII—7).

(Rāma first tearfully accepted the earth given by his father, then delightfully received his command "Go to the forest".). We see here that what has been described by Vālmiki in one canto (Ayodhyākānda—XVIII) has been abbreviated by Kālidāsa in one couplet. His power of abbreviation will be evident when we compare one short line of Kālidāsa in which Rati says that in the presence of relatives, grief comes out of the wide-open doors (of the heart)—

(K.S.—IV—26)

स्वजनस्य हि दुःखमग्रतो, विवृतद्वारमिवोपजायते—

with Bhavabhuti's—

सन्तानवाहीन्यपि मानुषाणां, दुःखानि सद्बन्धुवियोगजानि ।
दृष्टे जने प्रेयसि दुःसहानि, स्रोतः सहस्रैरिव संप्लवन्ते ॥

—Uttaracharitam—IV—8,

put in the mouth of Arundhati, when she persuades Kaus´alyā to grant an interview to Janaka after the banishment by Rāma of the innocent Sitā.

Suggestion has been said to be the soul of Poetry. All the similes of Kālidāsa are full of suggestion. It is difficult to select some passages and leave out the others. We may, however, refer to the passage of Ritusamhāra, where Autumn is described as coming in the garb of a newly-married girl (See p. 210). The expression 'Navabadhu' is highly suggestive and can be realised only by one who has seen a Hindu bride coming for the first time to her husband's house. Such is also the case in the passage of the Kumāra-Sambhava (VI—84 ; see p. 230) in which is described the counting of the petals of the litā-lotus by Pārvati who is swayed by various emotions—delight on account of the proposal of her marriage with S iva,and prospective keen disappointment, if the proposal be rejected by her parents—and who counts lotus petals to relieve the intensity of her contending emotions. Two instances—examples from Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam—will be sufficient for our purpose. The song of the second queen Hamsapadikā at the beginning of the Fifth Act (See p. 355) sung from a distance is full of suggestion. Hamsapadikā whom the King selected for her beauty and other graces, and to whom after their first union the King was much attached, and who reciprocated his love with equal ardour, has been forgotten by him who has transferred his love to Vasumati. The song also suggests that Hamsapadikā's fate has overtaken even a later love—

the devoted and charming S'akuntalā who is far more unfortumate than Hamsapadikā, as she is going to be disowned publicly even as a wife. In the last Act of Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam Dushmanta's son Sarvadamana, pointing out Dushmanta, says to his mother— मातः कः एषः (Sanskritised Prākrit—who is he ?). She says "वत्स ते भागधेयानि पृच्छ" (Ask your Destiny or अदृष्ट). Mr. D. L. Roy says that this reply is highly significant. It suggests, first, her ardent affection for her child, secondly her husband's unkindness, and thirdly, the cruelty of Fate.

His alliterations in almost all cases enhance the beauty and melody of his versification. If we take at random a few verses (say 24 to 28) of the ninth canto of Raghuvams'am, we find सुमधुरं मधुरं, विमलयन् मलयन्, द्रुमवतीमवतीर्यं, कमलिनी मलिनी, and मदयिता दयिता. In the twenty-third stanza of the same canto we find—

दिनकराभिमुखा रणरेणवोरुरुधिरे रुधिरेण सुरद्विषाम्—

(Das'aratha, the mighty bowman) laid (lit. checked) the dust of the battle-field, flying upwards in the direction of the sun, with the blood of the enemy of the gods).

His verses are characterised by clearness, force, elegance and melody. In the Kumāras'ambhavam and Raghuvams'am each canto is usually composed in one metre, which changes at the beginning of a new canto. For avoidance of monotony we further find, for instance, in the eleventh canto of the latter poem the Rathoddhatā metre, which is followed towards the end by a stanza in Vasantatilaka, which again is succeeded by one in the Mālini metre; while the next

canto begins with the S'loka metre or Anushtubh or the irregular stanza, each pāda or quarter of which consists of eight syllables, the fifth being light (लघु) and the sixth heavy (गुरु) in all the pādas and the seventh light only in the second and fourth.

The prevailing metres are the Upajāti and the classical form of the Anustubh or S'loka. Ritusamhāra is mostly composed in Indravajrā of eleven and Vams'astha-vilam of twelve syllables, while Meghaduta is written in the difficult Mandākrānta of seventeen syllables. In the dramas we generally find Anushtubh, A'ryya, Vasantatilaka, S'ārdulavikridita and Upajāti. It is a matter of wonder that there are so few deviations from the rules of complicated Sanskrit metres in the great Poet's works. A few instances of his melodious diction are given below—

(a) शिरसि.........एषः (R.S.—Rains—24,—p. 209)—

शिरसि वकुल—मालां मालतीभिः समेतां—
न न म य य —

the metre being Mālinī.

(b) विद्युद्वन्तं.........विशेषैः (M. D.—II—1, p. 41)—

विद्युद्वन्तं ललितवनिताः सेन्द्रचापं सचित्राः—
म भ न त त ग ग

the metre being Mandākrānta.

(c) तौ सन्धिसु.........हारम् (K. S.—VII—91, p. 233).

तौ सन्धिसु व्यञ्जित वृत्तिभेदं
त त जगग —Indravajrā

रसान्तरेषु प्रतिबद्धरागम् —Upendravajrā

} Upajāti

The metre of the third and fourth lines is Upendravajrâ.

(d) दूरादयश्चक्रनिभस्य...कलङ्करेखा (R.V.—XIII-15, p.279).

दू रा द य श्च क्र नि भ स्य तन्वी

त त ज ग ग — Indravajrā

त माल ता ली व न रा जि नीला —Upendravajrā

} Upajāti

The metre of the third and fourth lines is Indravajrâ.

(e) वामं सन्धिस्तिमितवलयं न्यस्य हस्तं नितम्बे,
कृत्वा श्यामविटपसदृशं स्रस्तमुक्तं द्वितीयम् ।
पादाङ्गुष्ठालुलितकुसुमे कुट्टिमे पातिताक्षं,
नृत्तादस्याः स्थितमतितरां कान्तमृज्वायतार्द्धम् ॥

—M.M.—II—18.

वामं सन्धिस्तिमितवलयं न्यस्य हस्तं नितम्बे
म भ न त त ग ग

} Mandākrāntā

(f) सुभग.........रमणीयाः (Prelude to A.S.)—

सुभगसलिलावगाहाः पाटलसंसर्गसुरभिवनवाताः

प्रच्छायसुलभनिद्रा दिवसाः परिणामरमणीयाः

The above couplet is in the typical A'ryyā metre which is said to be of non-Aryan origin. In the first and third quarters or pādas, there are in each twelve mātrās—a hrasva or short syllable having one and a dirgha or long syllable two mātrās ; in the second eighteen and in the fourth fifteen. Generally there

are variations, for example in the following from Vikramovars'i—

(g) अभिनवकुसुमस्तवकिततरुवरस्य परिसरे,
मदकल-कोकिल कूजित-मधुप-झङ्कार-मनोहरे।
नन्दनविपिने निजकरिणी-विरहानलेन सन्तप्तो,
विचरति गजाधिपतिरैरावतनामा ॥ (V.V.—IV—75).

This stanza is probably an interpolation.

अभिनव-कुसुमस्तवकित-तरुवरस्य परिसरे
मदकल-कोकिल-कूजित-मधुपझङ्कारमनोहरे

The first and third pādas of the above couplet have each twelve mātrās as in a typical A'ryyā, but the second eleven and the fourth fourteen. The second couplet is very irregular. Its first and sacred pādas have each fourteen mātrās and its third and fourth have each ten mātrās. The metre is an intermixture of A'ryyā and Gāthā.

(h) मधुकर......किमस्मिन्...(V.V.—IV p 336).

मधुकर! मदिराक्ष्याः शंस तस्याः प्रवृत्तिम्।
न न म य य —Mālini.

(i) सरसिजमनुविद्धं......नाकृतीनाम्—
(A.S.—I—47 ; see p. 346).

सरसिजमनुविद्धं शैवलेनापि रम्यं
न न म य य — Mālini.

From the above it will appear that melody in the Poet's works generally arises from the employment of Mālini, Mandākrāntā, Upajāti, A'ryyā and its variants.

Ruskin has well said that "he is the greatest artist who has embodied in the sum of his works, the greatest number of the greatest ideas". Kālidāsa has done this. Besides inculcating principles conducive to our intellectual and moral edification with which all his works are more or less interspersed and besides apprising his contemporaries of the evil effects of protracted hunting (which makes a man forget his important duties) in the person of Daśaratha (R.V.—IX—69) and of the bad consequences of excessive sensual indulgence in the person of Agnivarna (R.V.—XIX—48 etc.), he has held out before us several noble ideals. The failure of Umā's charms aided by a seductive sensuous environment to win Śiva and the effectiveness of her austerities or self-control in doing so, inculcate the superiority of the spiritual to the material interests of human life. The same lesson is taught by the greatest monarchs' deep reverence for hermits who are superior to them on account of their spiritual culture. The picture of Dilipa laying down his weapons and preparing his body which is according to him a mere lump of flesh—आमिषस्य पिण्डमिव—for being devoured by the Lion to save the life of the cow entrusted to him by his preceptor (R.V.—II—59 and 60), is an example of magnanimous dutifulness. Kautsa's obedience to his preceptor Varatantu, is highly praiseworthy. Raghu's extensive charity and reverence for those who have made the enlightenment of the intellect and spirit the sole end of their life, are instructive. Rati's devotion to her husband, that of Aja to his wife and above all Śitā's heavenly love for her hus-

band shown specially by her telling Lakshmana after her banishment by Rāma inspite of her innocence, that she will practise austerities in order that she may gain Rāma again as her husband (R.V.—XIV—66,see p.287) are as beautiful as they are noble. The chief queens of the three dramas are exemplars of domestic virtue, in which self-sacrifice plays an important part. Filial piety is a characteristic of the scions of the Raghu Dynasty. There is no nobler example of filial devotion than that of Rāmachandra, which is described with great felicity and conciseness by the Poet in the couplet पिता...अग्रहीत् (XII—7, p. 275) and which again is illustrated with great skill by the Poet when he says that Rāma with folded hands tells his step-mother Kaikeyi after his return from exile that his father did not swerve from truth—the principal means of salvation—only for her (XIV—16). The obedience of Lakshmana, Bharata (R.V.—XIII—66 and 67) and S'atrughna to their eldest brother Rāma has become proverbial. The bowing of victorious Rāma to his insolent and humbled foe (Paras'urāma) is really magnanimous (p. 274). It is difficult to find a more edifying picture of the cordial relation between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law than that depicted by the Poet in the lines (R.V.—XIV—5 and 6 ; see p. 284) of his great epic. The well-being of their subjects is always an important consideration to the kings described by the Poet. They are told that the welfare of their subjects should be their first concern, that if they want to be Rājās, they should practise प्रजारञ्जन or satisfy their subjects (R.V.—IV—12), that if they want to be called

Kshatriyas they should be always ready to rescue those who are in distress and danger (R.V.—II—53 ; see p. 256), and that they should always remember that as worldly grandeur and pleasure do not pay in the long run, they should be prepared to retire to the solitude of the forest in their old age and seek in devout meditation the union of their individual souls with the Unchangeable and Immortal Spirit of the Universe (R.V.—VIII—11) like Raghu who—योगसमाधिना तमसः परं अव्ययं पुरुषं आपत्—VIII—24)—attained by Yoga meditation the Eternal Spirit of Light (True Knowledge).

Ruskin's sage remark has also been illustrated, as we have said already, by precepts of which the Poet's works are full. They have become proverbs like those of Shakespeare. A few instances in addition to those quoted before are given below:—

अभ्यर्थनाभङ्गभयेन साधुर्माध्यस्थमिष्टेऽप्यवलम्बतेऽर्थे—K.S.-I-52.

(A good man, fearing that his request may be rejected, becomes indifferent even in matters much desired).

शाम्येत् प्रत्यपकारेण नोपकारेण दुर्जनः —K.S.—II—40.

(A wicked man is checked not by kindness but by punishment).

प्रयोजनापेक्षितया प्रभूणां प्रायश्चलं गौरवमाश्रितेषु—K.S.—III—1.

(The favour of masters varies with the nature of the work they impose on their servants).

अप्यप्रसिद्धं यशसे हि पुंसामनन्यसाधारणमेव कर्म्म—

—K.S.—III—19.

(Even a trivial act, incapable of being performed by others, redounds to the glory of the doer).

समीरणोनोदयिता भवेति, वयादिश्यते केन हुताशनस्य ?
—K.S.—III—21.

(Who need ask Wind to aid Fire?)

Cf. also—स्वयमेव हि वातोऽग्नेः सारथ्यं प्रतिपद्यते —R.V.—X-40.

(Wind of its own accord aids Fire).

न ह्यीश्वरव्याहृतयः कदाचित् पुष्णन्ति लोके विपरीतमर्थम्—
(K.S.—III—63).

(The words of God never bear contrary senses).

स्वजनस्य हि दुःखमग्रतोविवृतद्वारमिवोपजायते —K.S.—IV—26.

(The floodgate of sorrow opens before friends and relatives).

अशनेरमृतस्य चोभयोर्वशिनश्चाम्बुधराश्च योनयः—K.S—IV—43.

(As the cloud is the source of the (destructive) thunder and the (productive) rain, so in a selfcontrolled man are to be found righteous indignation and great forgiveness).

क ईप्सितार्थस्थिरनिश्चयं मनः, पयश्च निम्नाभिमुखं प्रतीपयेत्—
(K.S.—V—5).

(Who can resist a resolute mind fixed on a desired object and water rushing down a slope?)

न धर्मवृद्धेषु वयः समीक्ष्यते—(K.S.—V—16).

(Age is of no consideration in connexion with those who are old in righteousness).

शरीरमाद्यं खलु धर्मसाधनम्—(K.S.—V—33).

(Health is the primary foundation of righteousness).

सङ्गतं मनीषिभिः साप्तपदीनमुच्यते —(K.S.—V—39).

('The exchange of only seven words between good men makes them friends, say the wise).

न रत्नमन्विष्यति, मृग्यते हि तत्—(K.S.-V-45 and A.S.-III—55).

(A jewel does not seek any one, but is eagerly sought after).

क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते —(K.S.—V—86).

(Pains undergone, when successful, look different).

स्त्रीपुमानित्यनास्थैषा वृत्तं हि महितं सताम् —(K.S.—VI—12).

(Good men without heeding whether the doer is male or female, honour good conduct).

क्रियाणां खलु धर्म्म्याणां सत्पत्न्यो मूलकारणम्—(K.S.—VI—13).

(Good wives are the primary causes of virtue).

यदध्यासितमर्हद्भिस्तद्धि तीर्थं प्रचक्षते——(K.S.—VI—46).

(The residence of good men is a place of pilgrimage).

अशोच्या हि पितुः कन्या सद्भर्त्तृ-प्रतिपादिता—(K.S.—VI—79).

(None repent when they marry their daughters to good bridegrooms).

कालप्रयुक्ता खलु कार्य्यविद्भिर्विज्ञापना भर्त्तृषु सिद्धिमेति—
(K.S.—VII—63).

(The prayers of men wise in the choice of occasions are granted by their masters).

हेम्नः संलक्ष्यते ह्यग्नौ विशुद्धिः श्यामिकापि वा —R.V.—1—10.

(The genuineness of gold is tested only in fire).

त्याज्यो दुष्टः प्रियोऽप्यासीदङ्गुलीवोरगक्षता—(R.V.—I—28).

(Even the dearest one, if he turn wicked, is to be discarded like the snake-bitten finger).

पदं हि सर्व्वत्र गुणैर्निधीयते —(R.V.—III—62)

(True merit enables one to attain a good position everywhere).

आदानं हि विसर्गाय सतां वारिमुचामिव —(R.V.—IV—86).

(Good men accumulate wealth to give it away in charity in copious showers like clouds).

भिन्नरुचिर्हि लोकः —(RV.—VI—30).
(Tastes always differ).

न हि प्रफुल्लं सहकारमेत्य वृक्षान्तरं काङ्क्षति षट्पदाली—
(R.V.—VI—69).
(A cluster of bees does not desire any other plant, when it finds a full-blossomed mango-tree).

विषमप्यमृतं क्वचिद्भवेदमृतं वा विषमीश्वरेच्छया—
(R.V.—VIII-46).
(Poison becomes nectar and nectar poison according to Divine Will.)

अपथे पदमर्पयन्ति हि श्रुतवन्तोऽपि रजोनिमीलिताः
—(R.V.—IX—74).
(Even learned men when blinded by passion step into wrong paths.)

अवन्ध्याक्षेपो भविष्यन्त्याः कार्यसिद्धेर्हि लक्षणम्—R.V.—X—6.
(Want of delay is the sign of future success.).

भूतार्थव्याहृतिः सा हि न स्तुतिः परमेष्ठिनः—R.V.—X—33.
(It is no praise of the Supreme Being, but a mere statement of facts.).

काले खलु समारब्धाः फलं बध्नन्ति नीतयः—(R.V.—XII—69).
(Policy applied at the proper time bears fruit).

अपि स्वदेहात् किमुतेन्द्रियार्थाद्यशोधनानां हि यशो गरीयः—
—(R.V.—XIV—35).
(Those who prize honour regard it as more valuable than their own persons, not to speak of the pleasures of the senses).

आज्ञा गुरूणां ह्यविचारणीया —R.V.—XIV—46.
(The commands of seniors should not be questioned.)

स्वादुभिस्तु विषयैर्हृतस्ततो, दुःखमिन्द्रियगणो निवार्यते

—R.V.—XIX—49.

(The senses, when they have once been led astray by worldly temptations, can be reclaimed with difficulty)

याच्ञा मोघा वरमधिगुणे नाधमे लब्धकामा —(M.D.—I—6).

(Even a fruitless prayer to a great man is better than a fruitful one to a mean person.)

रिक्तः सर्व्वो भवति हि लघुः पूर्णता गौरवाय —(M.D.—I—20).

(Everything empty becomes light ; fulness contributes to eminence).

मन्दायन्ते न खलु सुहृदामभ्युपेतार्थकृत्याः —(M.D.—I—39).

(Those ~~also~~ who have promised to do good to their friends are never remiss).

आपन्नार्त्तिप्रशमनफलाः सम्पदो ह्युत्तमानाम् —(M.D.—I—54).

(The wealth of the great has for its object the alleviation of the distress of the afflicted.[1])

केषां न स्युः परिभवपदं निस्फलारम्भयत्नाः —(M.D.—I—55).

(Who does not become an object of ridicule, if he undertakes a fruitless task ?)

कस्यैकान्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकान्ततो वा,
नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण । —(M.D.—II—48).

(একান্ত হরষ, সন্তাপ বিষম,
নিয়তি-শাসনে, কদিন তরে,
জীবন ঘূর্ণিত—চক্রনেমী-সম
কভু ঊর্দ্ধে, কভু মাটির উপরে)—B.C.M.

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1. K. Pâthak.

(Trust to futurity, for still we view,
The always wretched, always blest are few ;
Life like a wheel's revolving orb turns round,
Now, whirled in air now dragged along the ground)
—W.

प्रतुपक्तं हि प्रणयिषु सतामीप्सितार्थक्रियैव —(M.D.—II—53).

(The answer of a good man to his beloved is the fulfilment of the latter's desire).

बलवदपि शिक्षितानामात्मन्यप्रत्ययं चेतः—(A.S.-I, Prelude—6)

(Even the highly learned cannot rely wholly on themselves.)

अथवा भवितव्यानां द्वाराणि भवन्ति सर्वत्र —(A.S.—I—37)

(The entrance-gate to Futurity exists every where.)

ध्रुवं स नीलोत्पलपत्रधारया
शमीलतां छेत्तुमृषिर्व्यवस्यति । —(A.S.I—42)

(It is certain that the sage wants to cut the (hard) creeper S'ami with the (soft) edge of the leaf of the blue lotus).

किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम् —(A.S.—I—47).

(What does not adorn those who are naturally beautiful ?)

आशङ्कसे यदग्निं तदिदं स्पर्शक्षमं रत्नं —(A.S.—I—110).

(What you feared as fire has now become a touchable jewel.)

गच्छति पुरः शरीरं धावति पश्चादसंस्थितं चेतः ।
चीनांशुकमिव केतोः प्रतिवातं नीयमानस्य ॥ —(A.S.—I—132).

(Though my body is going forward, yet my restless mind is being taken backwards (by the thought

of S'akuntalā), as the flag made of Chinese silk is made to flutter backwards by a contrary wind.)

ततः गण्डस्य उपरि पिण्डकः संवृत्तः (Sanskritised Prākrit —As.—II—1).

Bengali—(গণ্ডের উপর আবার বিস্ফোটক)—(Moreover a boil has been forming on the cheek).

स्निग्धजनसंविभक्तं हि दुःखं सह्यवेदनं भवति—A.S.—III—33 —Sanskritised Prākrit—(Grief shared with the beloved becomes endurable).

कः इदानीं शरीरनिर्व्वापयित्रीं शारदीयां ज्योत्स्नां आतपत्रेण वारयति —(A.S.—III—56).

(Who wants to intercept the soothing autumnal moonlight with his umbrella ?)

बिवक्षितं ह्यनुक्तमनुतापं जनयति — (A.S.—III—77).

(The suppression of things, one need tell, begets repentance).

स्नेहः पापशङ्की—(A.S.—IV.—138,Sanskritised Prākrit).

(Affection begets fear.)

गच्छ शिवास्ते सन्तु पन्थानः—(A.S.—IV—147).

(Go, may your journey be propitious !)

क्षणात् प्रबोधमायाति लङ्घ्यते तमसा पुनः ।
निर्व्वास्यतः प्रदीपस्य शिखेव जरतो मतिः ॥—(A.S.—V—4).

(As a dying lamp gives out momentary flashes (amidst thick darkness), so the intelligence and memory of an old man manifest themselves for a short while amidst protracted oblivion and infatuation).

राज्यं स्वहस्तधृतदण्डमिवातपत्रम्। —(A.S.—V—7).

(Royalty is burden-some like holding an umbrella with one's own hand).

ज्वलति चलितेन्धनोऽग्निर्विप्रकृतः पन्नगः फणं कुरुते।

तेजस्वी संक्षोभात् प्रायः प्रतिपद्यते तेजः ॥ —(A.S.—VI—231).

(As fire blazes when it is stirred up with a fuel-stick, as a serpent lifts up its hood (in anger) when it is struck, so a spirited person shows his valour when he is excited).

प्रबलतमसामेवंप्रायाः शुभेषु हि वृत्तयः।

स्रजमपि शिरस्यन्धः क्षिप्तां धुनोत्यहिशङ्कया ॥ —A.S.—VII-127).

(The conduct of an infatuated person even towards things, which are beneficial to him, is this—he flings on the ground the wreath placed on his head, fearing it as a viper).

छाया न मूर्च्छति मलोपहतप्रसादे,

शुद्धे तु दर्पणतले सुलभावकाशा। —(A.S.—VII-162).

(A soiled mirror does not reflect distinct images; only a clean one does).

मूढः परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः—(M.M.—Prelude to I—6)-Only a fool guides himself by another's belief.

अर्थं सप्रतिबन्धं प्रभुरधिगन्तुं सहायवानेव।

दृश्यं तमसि न पश्यति दीपेन विना सचक्षुरपि ॥—(M.M.—I-61).

(The object surrounded by impediments can be attained with adequate help. The eye cannot see things in the dark without the lamp).

सर्वज्ञस्याप्येकाकिनो निर्णयाभ्युपगमो दोषाय —(M.M.—I-125).

(Even an all-knowing person should not decide an important thing alone).

पत्तने विद्यमानेऽपि ग्रामे रत्नपरीक्षा ? — (M.M.—I—98).

(Do you want to test a gem in a village, when you can do so easily in a town ?)

मन्दोऽप्यमन्दतामेति संसर्गेण विपश्चितः— (M.M.—II—22)

(The dull become clever in the company of the wise).

यद्देवोपनतं दुःखं सुखं तद्धि रसान्तरम् ।
निर्वाणाय तरुच्छाया तप्तस्य हि विशेषतः ॥—(V.V.—III—143).

(Things, which are painful at first, become pleasant in course of time, as the shade of trees becomes agreeable specially to those suffering from heat).

भवितव्यता इत्थं बलवती (Sanskritised Prākrit—
V.V.—IV—11).

(Destiny is so powerful).

को देवरहस्यं चिन्तिष्यति—Sanskritised Prākrit—
V.V.—V—37.

(Who will gauge Divine mystery ?)

न खलु वयसा जात्यैवायं स्वकार्यसहो गुणः— (V.V.—V.—101).

[Fitness for (responsible) work does not depend on age or caste].

We are constrained to reject summarily several spurious works which have been fathered upon the Poet—*viz.*, (1) Pushpavānavilāsa and (2) Nalodaya, in which the Poet is made to invoke at the outset Krishna to whose amours with the Gopinis, there is a pointed reference, which is not in the manner of Kālidāsa, who addresses his prayers to S'iva (See also p.p. 463-64 ; Vrindāvana) ; (3) Dvātrims'at Puttalikā or the story of thirtytwo Dolls, which refers to the Bhoja-

rāja who flourished much later ; and Sringāra-rasāshtakam and S'ringāra-tilākam, in both of which are to be found sensual passages, which in their crudeness surpass those found in the Poet's works. Further in the former, one of the best passages of Kumāra-Sambhavam, *viz.*, तंवीक्ष्य......तस्थौ (V—85) is inserted, which seems to be quite inconsistent with the trend of the poem ; and in the latter Bengalee courtesans are mentioned, to which the other works of the Poet do not afford any parallel.

"The Hindus never had any building appropriated to public entertainments.........It appears from several of the dramas that in the palaces of kings there was a chamber or hall known as sangita-s'ālā, the music-saloon in which dancing and singing were practised and sometimes exhibited",[1] as is mentioned in M.M.—I-27. A dramatic exhibition "was not an ordinary occurrence or an amusement of the people, but it was part of an occasional celebration of some solemn or religious festival"[2]. Mālavikāgnimitram was composed on the occasion of the spring festival (Holi, Act I, Prelude-4), but no festivals are referred to in connexion with Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam and Vikramorvas'i. "The stage was termed Rangabhumi or Nepathya ; but the latter term was also applied to the 'Within', as sounds or exclamations off the stage were said to occur in the Nepathya.........It was often said where a character made his appearance under the influence of hurry or alarm, that he or she entered *apatikshepena* (A.S.-I-8) or with a toss of the curtain......It seems possible that

1, & 2.—Wilson p.p. LXVI—LXVIII.

curtains were suspended transversely so as to divide the stage into different portions. The properties were as limited as scenery, but seats, thrones, weapons and cars with live cattle were used.........Costume was always observed and various proofs occur of the personages being dressed in character. Females were represented in general by females...... There is no want of instruction for stage-business, and we have the *asides* and *aparts* as regularly indicated as in the modern theatre in Europe."[1].

Dr. Keith, while appreciating the genius of Kālidāsa as a lyric, descriptive, epic, and dramatic Poet, says that he cannot expect from him any solution of the mysteries of life, that the Poet shows no interest in the great problems of life and destiny, and that he is incapable of viewing the world as a tragic scene, of feeling any sympathy for the hard lot of the majority of men or of appreciating the reign of injustice in the world[2].

That Kālidāsa could rise to a tragic elevation, cannot be questioned. From the temporary separation of the Yaksha from his sweet-heart in his Meghaduta, we pass on to longer and more tragic ones in the cases of Sakuntalā, Sitā and Rati. Sorrow reaches its tragic height in Râma's quest of Sitâ after her kidnapping by Rāvana and in Pururavā's frenzy, in which they ask objects animate and inanimate about their beloved ones. The highest height of sorrow is, however, attained in Aja's bereavement—the death of the most beautiful and accomplished Indumati, who selected

1. Ibid. 2. S.D.—p. 160, and C. S. L.—p. 45.

him as her bridegroom in the memorable Svayamvara scene at Vidarbha, and whom he could take home only after an arduous fight with discontented and envious princes who wanted to marry her, and whose dead body could be removed with great difficulty from his embrace for funeral decoration and consignment to the sandal-wood pyre (R.V.—VIII—71).

Dr. Keith does not say what the mysteries and problems of life are. We take them to be these—Why is misery in this world? Does the soul survive the body after death? If it does, what becomes of it? Does the Providence of God guide the universe? If these are the problems and mysteries, Kalidasa suggests them and even solves them according to his lights. He believes in the existence of pain and misery. But he does not paint them blacker than what they really are. He is an optimist: he sees even a soul of goodness in things evil. Only an ignorant man regards a calamity (like Aja's bereavement—R.V.—VIII—88) as a painful thorn in his side, but a wise man considers it as the veritable gate of good (कुशल-द्वार). Pain and misery, he says, are due to our misdeeds either in this life or in our past lives. S'akuntala in her love-absorption transgresses the laws of hospitality. Rati abets her husband in disturbing S'iva's meditation. Taraka and Ravana oppress men and gods. They have to suffer. But repentance and good deeds bring about the mitigation of the evil, which has overtaken a person. The law is—As you sow, you shall reap. This is the law of Karma, similar to the doctrine of Necessity as underlay the

belief of the Greeks in their Fates and Furies. The law of Karma is not inexorable. There is sufficient scope for Free Will to mitigate its rigour. The soul survives the body and is born again, and becomes happy or miserable according to its previous deeds. But if they are sufficiently noble and good, one can dwell like Kus'a and his wife for long with the gods. Almost all the kings of the Raghu dynasty retire from the world in their old age and by means of Yoga and austerities terminate their earthly life to enjoy the bliss of heaven. Ascetics like S'arabhanga burn themselves on the funeral pyre in this belief. Although there are numerous gods, the different aspects of the same Divinity, all worship leads to one goal (See p. 467). But one has to select one as one's chief God, as Kâlidâsa selected Mahes'vara (See also p. 492),

The charge that Kâlidâsa does not depict a good man striving against an inexorable doom and a wicked man of powerful intellect and ability perishing after a hard struggle, is refuted by the pictures of Rati, Aja, S'akuntalā and Sitā on the one hand and Tāraka and Rāvana on the other.

The difference between an Indian and a Greek of ancient times might, however, be this—while a Greek would submit patiently to an inexplicable misfortune in the belief that the Fates who were more powerful than even the Gods had ordained it, an Indian would resign himself to it regarding it as a condign punishment for his past misdeeds—**ममैव जन्मान्तरपातकानां, विपाकविस्फूर्जथुरप्रसह्यः**—a severe calamity like the lightning-stroke, due to the misdeeds of my past life. (R.V.—

XIV—62). Though it is difficult to adjudge the superiority of one to the other, still the Indian should not be blamed, if his logical and religious instinct would devise an explanation for the calamity which he had not been, inspite of his best efforts, able to avert. Kālidāsa does not simply raise doubts, but dispels them at the same time. His reasoning may be fallacious. But we must remember that he is a poet and not a philosopher. The object of poetry is to delight and edify us and not merely to fill our minds with doubt and despondency of which there is enough in this world.

There are some important points of agreement be tween Kālidāsa and Shakespeare. The plots of both are borrowed from others, Both discard the unities of space and time. In the works of both as distinguished from Greek dramas there are a comparative paucity of the lyric element and the absence of Chorus (See also p. 310). Both mix prose with poetry and the serious with the comic. Both introduce a play within a play as in Vikrāmorvas'i on the one hand and Hamlet and Midsummernight's Dream on the other. Fools[1] are to be found in the dramas of both. Both further the action of their plays by means of letters, as in Vikramorvas'i and S'akuntalā, and in Cymbeline, Merchant of Venice and several others.

Not only in discarding the unities of space and time, but also in another important respect Kāli-

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1. To say as some have done that Vidushakas have been derived from Greek dramas seems to be as preposterous as to say that Gopāl-Bhand of Rājā Krishnachandra had a European origin.

dâsa seems to be superior to Greek Dramatists. He could never have chosen Clytemnestra's adultery and murder of her husband, Orestes's murder of his mother and Oedipus's marriage with his mother as the themes of his dramatic compositions. The test of the highest art is its capacity for not only affording us delight, but also its ability to give us an insight into the true nature of things and a stimulus to repress our baser passions and to direct us along the path in which we may be enlightened and ennobled. There are numerous things in this world, which render the darkness of our intellect thicker and incite our lower impulses. We therefore expect our literary heroes to help us to know the truths we do not know and live a higher life which unaided we cannot live.

As we have already stated, the plots of Kālidāsa like those of Shakespeare are borrowed from others. The plot of Vikramorvas´i resembles the story of Pururavas given in the twentyfourth chapter of Matsyapurāna, that of S´akuntalâ, the story in the A´diparva of the Mahābhârata, and that of Mālavikāgnimitram, though based on a historical incident, may have been taken from an earlier version of the story. But though the matter is not the Poet's own, he has like Shakespeare transformed it into a new thing by giving a new orientation to the original, by adding new characters and by developing the old ones in a way not dreamt of by their authors.

The stories of the plays resemble one another to some extent (See also p. 367). In each there are a king who is the hero, a chief queen, and in Mālavi-

kāgnimitram and Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam junior queens, a heroine—a girl of whom the king becomes enamoured, a Vidushaka like the fool in Shakespeare, a Kanchuki or chamberlain, clever female attendants, a son who is a child in Vikramorvas'i and S'akuntalā, and a victorious youth in Mālavikāgnimitram, in which, however, there is also a child in the person of the girl Vasulakshmi. The queen becomes in each play jealous of the newcomer. S'akuntalā like Urvas'i pretends that her bark-dress has become entangled in the branches of a tree. She writes a letter to her lover like the nymph. The Vidushaka is always hungry and the Kanchuki complains of his old age. Vasulakshmi plays with a kanduka, A'yus with a live peacock, and Bharata with a live lion and also with a moving clay peacock. In Mālavikāgnimitram and Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam, the hero overhears the conversation of the heroine with her attendants. In Vikramorvas'i it is the heroine who does so. The chief queen in Vikramorvas'i and the second queen in Mālavikāgnimitram watch their husbands from places of concealment and then spring surprises upon them. In Abhijnāna-S'akuntalam and Vikramorvas'i, the hero moves in the in the region of the air in a chariot and describes vividly to the charioteer its progress in the skies. Love is the subject of the three dramas. The hero and heroine become hopelessly enamoured of each other at first sight.

So many points of agreement would naturally make the plays a monotonous reading; but the Great Dramatist has handled them in such a way as to render them imperceptible to the general reader.

We cannot agree with Dr. Keith, when he says that Kālidāsa's dramatic characters are types[1]. As Dr. Macdonell says, they are individuals[2] and all the kings, queens, vidushakas and female attendants can be easily differentiated from one another. Like Shakespeare Kālidāsa does not repeat himself in his characters. In the characterisation of different kinds of men and women and in the description of the sublime and beautiful aspects of Nature, the Poet shows his skill as a master-artist.

Kālidāsa was like Shakespeare the epitome of his age. Much of the life-history (Chap. VIII) of his countrymen in this period—their manners and customs, their modes of thought and expression are treasured up in his writings. In the field of drama specially in its range Kālidāsa is distinctly inferior to Shakespeare, who in his numerous dramatic works has delineated all the aspects, both light and grave of Nature and Man, and specially of the latter, has fathomed all the depths of the human heart, has ascended from the basest buffoonery to the most refined repartee, from the most ignoble passion to the most sublime emotion, from a man like Iago to a man like Othello, from a mischievous sprite like Caliban to a magnanimous king-philosopher like Prospero, from a Goneril to a Cordelia and from the fiendish Lady Macbeth to the divine Desdemona. Though it will be idle to adjudge the comparative merits of Kālidāsa's Ritusamhāra (a descriptive and lyrical—more descriptive than lyrical—poem) and Shakespeare's Sonnets

1. S. D. p. 282.
2. S. L. p. 350.

and Venus and Adonis, it may safely be said that both abound with beautiful descriptions of Nature and sensuous (if not sensual) appeals to the human heart. But Shakespeare has nothing to match the inimitable lyric, *viz.*, the Meghadutam of Kālidāsa. Again in the sphere of Epic, there is no work of Shakespeare which we can compare with Kâlidāsa's Kumārasambhavam or Raghuvaṁs'am. Critics have said enough when they have stated that as the English Poet has been preeminent in probing the recesses of the mind of Man, so the Indian Bard has been in sounding the depths of the heart of Nature. Only poets like Kālidāsa and Shakespeare—

The bards sublime
Whose distant footsteps echo
Through the corridors of time[1]—

can estimate each other's genius. The attempts of meaner men to appraise the music of the Nightingale of Stratford and the melody of the Cuckoo of Ujjaini are like those of the man who 'being a dwarf wants to pluck fruit from the highest branch of a tree or of the man who wants to cross the wide ocean in a frail raft'[2].

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1. Longfellow.
2. R.V.—I—2 and 3.

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